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ABSTRACT

This volume is a collection of public discourses on European education governance, and social integration and exclusion, focusing in particular on changes in education governance in Finland, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, England, and Scotland. Ten chapters include: (1) "Introduction: Research Problematics and Approaches" (Sverker Lindblad and Thomas S. Popkewitz); (2) "Finland: From Comprehensive School Citizen Towards Self-Selective Individual" (Risto Rinne, Joel Kivirauma, Piia Hirvenoja, and Hannu Simola); (3) "Germany: Discourses on Education Governance and/or Social Exclusion and Inclusion in Political Parties in Germany" (Edwin Keiner, Sandra Muskat, Rita Stolbinger, and Kathrin Tietze); (4) "Greece: Crisis and Reform in Greek Education--A Modern Greek Sisyphus: Analysis of Texts" (Andreas Kazamias and Evie Zambeta); (5) "Iceland: Curriculum Management and Self-Evaluation in Icelandic Primary and Secondary Schools" (Ingólfur Ásgeir Jóhannesson, Gunnar E. Finnbogason, and Guðrún Geirsdóttir); (6) "Portugal: Discourses on Educational Policy in an Uncertainty Context" (António Nóvoa, Natália Alves, and Rui Canário); (7) "Spain: The Official Discourse of Social Integration in Education in Spain. A Text Analysis Report" (Miguel A. Pereyra and Pablo J. Castillo); (8) "Sweden: A New Kind of Order: Swedish Policy Texts Related to Governance, Social Inclusion and Exclusion in the 1990s" (Lisbeth Lundahl); (9) "England and Scotland: Modernizing the (Dis-) United Kingdom: Deregulation, Devolution and Difference" (Jenny Ozga and Martin Lawn); and (10) "Concluding Remarks: Comments and Reflections on Cases and Contexts" (Thomas S. Popkewitz and Sverker Lindblad). An appendix contains a preliminary list of present project deliverables from the Education Governance and Social Integration and Exclusion in Europe project. (RT)

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Sverker Lindblad and Thomas S Popkewitz (Eds)

Public discourses on education governance and social integration and exclusion: Analyses of policy texts in European contexts

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Sverker Lindblad and Thomas S Popkewitz (Eds)

Public discourses on education governance and social integration and exclusion: Analyses of policy texts in European contexts

The EGSIE project is carried out with the financial support of the European Commission, Directorate-General Research; the Targeted Socio- Economic Research Programme.

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ABSTRACT:

Sverker Lindblad and Thomas S Popkewitz (Eds): Public discourses on education governance and social integration and exclusion: Analyses of policy texts in European contexts. *Uppsala Reports on Education 36.*

In focus of this report are policy texts dealing with changes in education governance in nine national cases: Finland, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, England and Scotland. In accordance with the basic research approach the results are organised in relation to a set of questions concerning :

- sets of arguments about changes in education governance (narratives)
- conceptions of actors – e g students and teachers (subject constructions)
- relations between education governance and social inclusion/exclusion

Considering the selection of texts it was shown that there are clear differences in categories of texts that are constructed to govern education in different national contexts, partly due to differences in the organisation of the organisation of the state, partly due to different governance traditions.

The text analyses presented narratives of progress and denials as well as necessities to change the governance of the educational system due to increased demands of effectiveness and increased demands for local participation in decision making. A basic line of policy arguments concern the necessity to consider economic realities and to compete in an international context. In the texts we also find patterns of internationalisation and globalisation. The narratives were situated differently – in some cases in relation to a development of a welfare state, and in other cases in relation to a deconstruction of a developed welfare state. Tensions between different aspects of modernisation in relation to economic efficiency on one side and democratisation on the other side were presented in some cases.

The texts presented views on head teachers and teachers as engaged professionals and students as motivated and rational actors. Here, there were considerable silences about those who did not fit into such categorisations. Relations stated between education governance and social inclusion/exclusion were not clearly pronounced. But from texts we could concluded tendencies of a changed relationship between the state and the individual. Education seems in several cases to become less of a matter of citizenship and more a matter of individual consumption and production of vocational qualifications.

Key words: Education governance, inclusion, exclusion, social integration, policy analysis, text analysis, education restructuring, international studies, comparative studies, globalisation, narratives, habitus.

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1. Introduction

Sverker Lindblad and Thomas S Popkewitz:

Research problematics and approaches

At the turn of the 19th century, the French sociologist Emile Durkheim discussed the transition from a traditional to a modern society and its implications for social fragmentation and disintegration – for changes in social constraints and moral codes. His *De la Division du Travail Social: étude sur l'organisation des sociétés superior* (1893) was a result of his work on understanding these social transitions. In the book education is considered a means of producing social cohesion and conditions for solidarity. In many ways today we again find ourselves in a situation where economic and cultural conditions, as well as the ruling and functioning of the state, are in a state of change.

A number of commentators have considered such changes as being related to a variety of changes in governing practices, since there is at present a transition not only from traditional to modern society but also to shifts in what has been called, in varying contexts, "the crisis of modernity," "post modernity" or "high modernity." These changes relate to homologous changes in culture, economy, and society in which issues of the social administration of institutions and of the person are changing. Nicholas Rose (1989), for example, speaks about the movement away from governing practices in turn-of-the-century liberal democracies as being related to various collective social notions that joined the individual to some grand, overall conception of the citizen. In certain ways, we can think of the idea of the state as a paternal institution that guards the collective good is one example of this notion of social collective notion that gave organization to the 19th century idea of governing.

But this notion of governing, Rose continues, has shifted so that it is now symbolized in the idea of "community," a local, decentralized kind of governing that goes alongside the state and centralized planning. These new principles of governing are also related to different ways in which social solidarity is being constructed and the political rationalities in which individuals are part of the polity, as well as to problems of social integration and exclusion. Today's struggles over identity in relation to minority rights and gender also produce new exclusions and taboo zones, as the monolithic notions of identity that are residues of the past clash with the convictions of identities that are heterogeneous.

These transitions and conflicts are historically embodied in schools. The formation of the modern school is a 19th century project concerned with modernizing the territory of the state through constructing salvation stories that linked the individual with the nation (Meyer et al., 1987). One aspect of schooling is the making of a good and responsible citizen who acts in a self-responsible and productive manner in the forming of the social pact. Another aspect of schooling lies in the making of a stronger or better society. The genius of liberal theories of politics is that it made this dual relationship an explicit element in the construction of society, a fact underlying Durkheim's sociological concern with moral cohesion.

In this way schooling is a complex and ambivalent project. It concerns not only what knowledge is worthwhile (the Spencerian question) but also what type(s) of individuality is possible and appropriate. From this point of view, governance of schooling and education is a highly critical aspect of the project since it joins questions about what knowledge and practices are necessary for social and economic access with what identities are expected to function as productive and inclusive. The changes in governance that we are presently witnessing, then, are not only legal, organizational, and institutional, but are also concern shifts in power over education and shifts in the education project itself.

This work explores the changes in governing in schools of Europe, with a particular focus on governing related to social inclusion and exclusion. As we stated above, since the turn of the 20th century the project of schooling have been tied to issues of making societies more just and equitable.

It is our ambition to find implications for education of transitions in education governance and its consequences. This report is part of an international and comparative research project funded by the European Union to explore relations between education governance and social integration and exclusion. In some ways it is a project similar to that of Durkheim a century ago, even if our report is focused on education and its social meaning. Previously we have presented different national cases with a focus on reform and education restructuring (Lindblad & Popkewitz, 1999) and a conceptual review of research within this field (Popkewitz, Lindblad and Strandberg, 1999).

Texts – such as laws, government bills and so on – are vital for the constitution and regulation of social and cultural phenomena such as education. Such texts also inform us about perspectives, assumptions and arguments as well as about considerations of contexts where these texts are put. In order to carry out our task of understanding transitions in education governance and the implications of such transitions, it is vital to analyze important texts in detail. We could say that we need to "converse" with such texts and listen carefully to what they say.

In this study we focus on texts that deal in various ways with transitions in education governance – sometimes through legal-administrative and financial changes in the structuring of education (e.g., decentralization or deregulation), sometimes through creating quasi-markets, sometimes through a normative steering in the symbolic formulations of professionalization and pedagogical practices. Still other times, this occurs through a rhetoric (*topoi*, see concluding comments) that infuses certain universal truths into the process of education. Since each country has different legal-administrative and rhetorical structures, the selection of texts in the following analysis vary from nation to nation. They have been chosen in light of their importance within the ongoing debates and historical configurations through which each country is re-constructing educational systems and the allocation of resources in education. The multiple texts in the study are then viewed as (a) "telling" about the means by which the activities of schools are controlled or directed in relation to some social standard; (b) generating principles through which the "problem-solving" of action and participation are expected to occur.

Our analysis starts within the specific contexts of regions or states as a basis for a joint analysis of discourses and texts regulating education. The central discursive strategies are "units of ideas." In the analysis, the interpretative strategies draw on multiple disciplines that include social and political theories of the state, current literature that pertains to the rhetoric and logic of the texts, and, for an analysis of the silences in the texts, the post-colonial literature concerned with issues of exclusion. The latter – the silences – are the most difficult but also most central to the question of social inclusion-exclusion. Here, the textual analysis looks to see which groups are mentioned in the text and which concepts are used to categorize these groups. Where no groups as such are identified, the categories and distinctions in the policy statements are examined to understand which social groups and norms are implied and "absent" by omission.

Theoretical questions and design of study

The EGSIE project is interpretative of relations that are historical and empirical in the sense that we treat the texts (and later, the interview of significant actors in the field of education) as exemplar or as monuments to the cultural patterns and governing practices related to issues of inclusion and exclusion. Thus, the methodological approach departs from a certain positivism and empiricism in that we are not testing theories and hypotheses but are trying to map out patterns of reasons and relations of education governance and social integration and exclusion. As an international and comparative research project we are focusing on national cases rather than variables. This does not mean that national cases are considered as basic units, since we are dealing with international phenomena. Instead, cases are considered as potential patterns of information on structures and relations in order to get answers on theoretically significant questions (Kazamias, Lindblad & Popkewitz, 1999).

Concepts and notions

In this section we define basic concepts and notions of importance for our study in order to identify the above-mentioned theoretically significant questions. Our provisory definitions of basic concepts are (Popkewitz & Lindblad, in press):

- Governance has two complementary notions. One notion relates to the means by which activities are controlled or directed to deliver an acceptable range of outcomes according to some established social standard. We have called this "the equity problematic." The equity problematic emphasizes rational action and a collective authority through the production of expectations and entitlements of individuals who act as agents of their own interests. A second notion relates to the systems of knowledge that order the "problem-solving of policy and social practices." These knowledge systems govern through the distinctions, differentiations, and categories that construct identities for action and participation.
- Social inclusion/exclusion is defined in relation to the above distinctions in governance. Inclusion in the equity problematic relates to the degree to which social groups participate in relation to the social standard, with governance as those practices that eliminate (at least theoretically) the

exclusion of targeted groups, such as those defined by class, gender, race or ethnicity. The second notion, the problematic of knowledge, focuses on exclusion and inclusion as one notion (inclusion/exclusion). Here, the concern is with the how principles of reason order (the distinctions, differentiations and categories of knowledge), producing divisions that function to qualify and disqualify individuals for action and participation.

- Social integration and segregation are regarded as outcomes of social inclusion/exclusion. Thus, inclusion is assumed to lead to integration of those included as well as segregation between those included and those excluded.

It must be remembered that these concepts have a provisional character and will be subject to change. Below we present notions and questions related to these concepts.

The transition notion

The transition concept refers to changes over time - from an old to a new system or changes of characteristics of actors or conceptions of knowledge. When we are talking about changes and transitions, we do not use criteria such as development or improvement. We are interested in changes over time but do not assume that these changes are of a certain quality. Furthermore, we do not mean that changes apply "forever, everywhere and for everyone." For example, current policy documents discuss the need to remake the schools in order to meet new economic demands and to adjust to cultural changes and the demography of nations in relation to greater issues of cultural and religious diversity that confront many European countries.

This call for change can also be understood as related to more fundamental transitions, as Fordist economies are replaced with post-Fordist systems of work that involve different conceptions of the worker in which process, knowledge, and communication systems redefine the nature of work itself. At the same time, these transition points in economy are related to changes in cultural and political systems, such as those presented in the media and politics of neo-liberalism. The importance of the transformations of cultural images and narratives in the relation between global changes and the specific national institutions and the individual who is to act within new sets of social relations is increasingly underscored in economic analyses about the role of cultural production by the nation-state as the economy becomes increasingly influenced by a globalized corporatism (Boyer and Drache, 1996).

We mention these transitions here merely as a reference to the fundamental changes occurring in social fields outside of education but which have implications in the concrete governing patterns of education and in the ways in which social inclusion and integration are given meaning. Furthermore, these transitions are not homogenous, as this report will indicate, showing differences in how the different transitions are realized within different parts of the European Union as well as between the industrialized world and countries in "third world" and post-colonial contexts. At the same time, we submit a caution that certain changes may on the surface seem significant (extending the years in a compulsory school, for example) but may not change the governing patterns in which the transitions are being culturally articulated within educational sectors. In this sense, we need to distinguish between what Harvey (1989) called "the epiphenomena" of change and the "things" that are changing, without necessarily taking his theoretical position (see also Giddens, 1990). That is, we must be aware of changes that might, upon closer scrutiny, be considered as no changes at all.

The transition concept, then, is used historically, to distinguish between "mere" events in the structuring of school systems and events that have theoretical/historical importance for the changing patterns of governance, schooling, and social inclusion/exclusion.

Notions of transition can be expressed thus: What we actually and on an abstract level are trying to do is to understand - at least partly - new rules of education in Europe and their implications. From our point of view, these rules to a large extent concern change in governance of school systems. Based on this, we can look for certain issues, as follows.

- What do the changes in governance imply considering the school system and its agents such as; the school as an institution, curriculum changes, teachers and teaching, students and studenting?

- What do these changes imply considering premises, processes and consequences of schooling in terms of social inclusion/exclusion?

The transition notion is a way of looking beyond the "rhetoric" surrounding education in the European Union. "New" ways to govern education and the modernization of the school as an institution demand changes in curricula and "new" constructions of students and teachers as well as "new" ways of working. For example, we can identify a relation between, on the one hand, the new "progressive," constructivist pedagogies that are found in the reforms of teaching in many countries and, on the other, the changing work-order of globalization (Gee et al, 1996). The notion of transition is a means of extending current discourses on education and their implications to broader cultural, social, and economic issues.

The narrative notion

The narrative notion is used to capture transitions as narratives - to see changes as parts of narratives in which we seek the plots that present, legitimize, and contextualize transitions. By narratives, we are concerned with how stories are constructed about the school and the child as it relates to some collective sense of progress and goals. Such narratives tell us not only about arguments for change. They also tell us about the cultures of change and ways of understanding education and education governance in social and cultural settings (c.f. Bruner, 1990, Geertz, 1978).

We use the word "image" as a way of thinking about the overlapping of multiple discourses through which the citizen (and non-citizen) is constructed. We draw initially on Benedict Anderson's (1991) concept of "imagined communities." Anderson argues that the formation of a nationality and collective identity is socially fabricated through the images, narratives, and discourses that shape people into knowing, understanding, and experiencing themselves as members of a community or citizens of nation. The construction of imagined communities involves a number of overlapping discourses. For example, if we look at the advertising of a nation, certain representations occur as the healthy, productive, and responsible person in a society. In a similar way, the policy statements and system-actor statements about educational reforms involve notions about how the individual relates to the social and cultural projects in school reforms and modernizations. These notions may relate to cultural representations of the citizen, religious notions of what is moral action, civil notions about how one should participate, economic notions about the qualities of being the productive worker, political notions about individuality and the collective good. This overlapping of national and international discourses forms a single plane that "tells" us, for example, who "the Swede" is and "the Finn," "the Greek" and "the Spaniard" etc., and at the same time, who is not. This overlapping of different notions into a single plane is thought of as "an image" that we will investigate for its governing properties when considering social inclusion and exclusion.

Meyer et al. (1986), for example, discuss the global processes in which schooling occurs as embodying salvation stories. These stories link the development and achievement of individuals in schools to the ability of the nation to fulfill its "natural" destiny - economically, politically, and culturally. Our concern with the narratives of policy texts is how the stories of reform reflect transitions in the stories of the progress of the nation, and how the schooling processes are expected to promote that progress through the "making" of an individual who is competent and competitive in the new national and global contexts. However, these plots are not to be taken for granted as such but are based on critical thoughts about education and schooling. Our particular focus is on narratives concerning education governance and social inclusion/exclusion and relations between these narratives. The basic critical idea is that there is a relation here. The issue we are exploring is thus:

- What are the ingredients in the narratives and what occasions, images, thoughts or ideas are they based upon?
- What argument is put forward? In what way is this argument put into a context and what is that context?
- How are narratives on education governance and narratives on social inclusion/exclusion eventually related to each other?

The narrative notion can be regarded as a tool for analyzing texts as well as for understanding actors and their perspectives and experiences. But it is also a way of perceiving the ingredients of the plots as social constructions. It is of vital importance that competent empirical work is carried out to capture the narratives in an intelligent and intelligible way and to describe and analyze the plots convincingly and on good grounds.

Notions on governance and social inclusion/exclusion

To explore relations between education governance and social integration and exclusion is the basic concept of the EGSIE project. It is assumed that there are relations between education governance and social integration and exclusion. However, exactly what these relations are should be subject to analysis and not taken for granted. In order to underline this we speak of different forms of governance and different forms of inclusion/exclusion. Relations between forms of education governance and social inclusion and exclusion are a central concern to empirical studies. Such relations can be more or less contingent. The issue we focus on is thus:

- How are the relations constructed or disconnected in texts, stories, and experiences?
- In what ways are these relations expressed?
- In what ways are these relations not expressed? What are the silences in the texts in this respect?

Questions on education governance in relation to social integration and exclusion were the focus of our previous review of research. Although we dealt with different kinds of texts in the review, we noted two kinds of research discourses, one on equity and one on systems of knowledge or reason (Popkewitz, Lindblad & Strandberg, 1999). In this report, we focus on ways of reasoning, to understand how the discourses deployed in the policy texts and system actors embody rules and standards for thinking and acting in the field of education. This notion of knowledge or reason places emphasis on the systems of distinctions, differentiations, and categories through which the objects of schooling – teachers, children, parents, communities – are "seen," thought about, felt, and acted on. Further, our focus on reason enables us to look upon the problem of social inclusion and exclusion through a different lens than typically found in policy and research on equity issues, such as whether the objects of schooling have access to resources or are denied such access and participation. The concern with reason enables us to consider how the ordering principles of policy, pedagogy, school assessment, and statistics, for example, embody principles that operate on an unequal playing field as particular rules for action are brought into play that qualify and disqualify individuals.

The construction of the subject

In policy texts we expect not only to find reasoning about institutions and systems and their governance but also about the agents in these systems and the expectations placed on them. We define this as the construction of the subject. In EGSIE we discussed the construction of the subject that stresses its historicity, that is, how subjectivities are constructed in social spaces that respond to and form relations with the state and globalization tendencies. Under this heading, we deal in this report with the construction of teachers and students in the narratives of governance and social inclusion/exclusion when studying texts as well as when listening to experiences of different kinds.

- What constructions of subjects are at stake?

- What is expected of the >new= students and teachers and head-teachers and how is exclusion/inclusion related to this?
- What strategies are used or expected of the subjects and what resources do they demand?

The questions we ask and our answers aim to clarify how these subjects are constructed and the premises for such constructions.

General, specific, and local questions

To end: our questions are such that they can be constructed in different ways in different settings. The general questions are to be dealt with in all the studies, while the specific questions are directed to specific studies. The notion of general questions gives us the possibility of studying and analyzing narratives with similar ingredients but at different positions as texts or as actors. The specific questions, on the other hand, give us the possibility to get information where it is possible to get it. This, in turn, makes it possible to relate ourselves to arguments developed in other narratives. The notion of local questions refers to the possibilities and opportunities of the different teams to state questions that might be of vital interest in one context but of little interest in another.

General theoretical questions

In this section we put forward the questions that are assumed to guide our analyses of texts. The theoretical questions are ordered in three parts: on narratives, subjects, and governance.

Construction of Narratives

In general, the concern here is to identify the national (or societal) narratives' relation to transitions in educational governance and social inclusion/exclusion, asking, for example:

1. What stories are told of progress and its denial in the policy texts and by the actors? (Stories of progress have to have some kind of explanation for how changes occur, to what end, and what gets in the way of progress.)
2. What are the images, myths, and sagas that are supposed to place people together into a collective whole (an "imagined community") in these narratives? (What are the collective images being created in these narratives? Who are the heroes/heroines, who are the villains? If there are diversities, what are they, how are they defined/understood and

related? How do local and global discourses intersect in the construction of these images?).

Construction of subjects

Within EGSIE, we initially used the distinction "citizen-state-world relations." As we discussed this further, we decided to use construction of subjects as a framing category, primarily because it gives us a way of thinking about the inter-relationship between the social and subjective that was the original object of our discussion.

3. In the text and actor narratives discussed above, what are the conceptions of the individual (the citizen, the worker, the man, the woman, the consumer, the student, the "self," etc.)? By this, our interest is not necessarily in the label (e.g., "the child as consumer," "the teacher as a professional"), but with the distinction and differentiations that classify the subject (i.e., what makes a consumer the good consumer, what makes a professional teacher)?
4. What silences are there in these constructions of the subjects? That is to say, who is not included in these constructions? In making the categories of qualifications of good, capable, competent individuals, we have to assume that there are certain norms that define what is good, who's inside and who's outside, and the like.

Governance – Social Inclusion/Exclusion

We have been approaching this issue with two related but distinct concerns in mind. The first is the systemic question related to how policy enables or denies access to social, cultural, and political resources, i.e., the question previously termed the equity problematic. The second concern is the power/knowledge relation, which we have termed the knowledge problematic.

5. How do the constructions of narrative and subjects produce systems of governance and inclusion/exclusion?
6. What is the relationship between systems of governance and systems of inclusion/exclusion?

These six questions are put forward and discussed in relation to the analyzed texts in order to discover the narratives, constructions of subjects, and ways of dealing with social integration and inclusion/exclusion.

On text analysis and text selection

Given the international comparative nature of our study, and the basic recognition that each individual country has its own unique set of policy texts from which to select, some shared points of comparison (at least analytically) had to be constructed for our work in policy text analysis.

This section is organized into two parts: a general discussion of our parameters is followed by additional commentary. The additional commentary is intended to provide more detail and to raise some of the issues we know to be implied in these methodological decisions.

General Discussion of Parameters

Basic/Logistic Parameters

There is a necessity to keep the overall amount of textual material at a minimum. That is, it is relatively safe to assume that each nation produces many more policy texts than any one of us could be expected to analyze within a lifetime. Given that we have been flexible in our temporal delineation (with each national case being constructed on the basis of time frames that make sense for that nation), it makes sense that we also choose our policy texts in relation to each individual nation's relevant time frame.

Analytical Parameters

Three main analytical parameters have been discussed. In sum they represent an attempt to offer two different points of departure for our studies. On the one hand, we need to address fairly conventional and common-sense policy terms and needs. The first two analytical parameters listed below work toward this need. On the other hand, if one of our main aims is to offer new and important insight into new constructions of social inclusion and social exclusion, it is necessary to look beyond the normal view. The third analytical parameter listed below is intended to be an aid in this more unconventional work. The three parameters are as follows:

1. Texts should be selected that are directly responsive to the main issue of the study, namely changes in relationship between educational governance and social inclusion/exclusion. This implies at least two analytical constructs in need of textual referent: "governance" and "social inclusion/exclusion."
2. Texts should be selected to canvass the main areas of educational reform/restructuring as previously documented in international policy

and comparative analyses. That is, within the broad debates on educational restructuring, we might focus on three areas: clients (subjects/groups that are designated as needing attention in the official policy statements); organizations (including budget, personnel, and management issues), and curriculum (understood broadly). We will need to require all nations to analyze each of these areas. In this sense, the texts have to be "representative" of their respective systems.

3. At least one text should be selected for detailed discursive analysis that is not of obvious or apparent descriptive utility but that is highly instructive for understanding the shifting boundaries between "the normal and the pathological."

Taken together, it should be evident that the first two analytic parameters could be met within a relatively small range of policy texts. The range of necessary texts would thus work from a maximum of roughly four. In fact, it is possible for a single text to meet both the first and second analytical parameters. For example, an all-encompassing policy change statement that adequately summarizes changes in governance and assumed or official notions of social inclusion and exclusion could, at the same time, cover all three areas of educational restructuring mentioned above (clients, organization and curriculum), thus meeting the second analytical parameter along the way. In this case, the third analytical parameter would require the addition of one other, "outside" textual point of view. Thus, the minimum number of texts that any one nation could analyze is two (one conventional, one outsider).

Table 1:1: Matrix of Analytical Parameters 1 and 2

	Client	Organization	Curriculum
Governance			
Social inclusion/exclusion			

On making the selections

In this section we present outlines of discussions dealing with text selections in the EGSIE project: It should be clear that we need textual referents for a larger number of concepts and issues than of texts themselves. This means that we will necessarily choose texts which cover more than one concept or issue at the same time. As Table 1 below suggests, we are looking to cover a minimum of six relationships (Client–Governance, Client–Inclusion/ Exclusion, Organization–Governance, etc.).

While the number of analytical relationships is greater than the number of texts we use, it should be noted that what we have listed separately as analytical is not likely to be empirically separate. For instance, it is highly unlikely to find a policy text that discusses "clients" that does not also carry implications for social inclusion and social exclusion. Likewise, it is highly unlikely to find a text discussing organizational changes which does not also imply claims about governance. Ideally, the texts we select should readily discuss all six types of relations mentioned above, but this will not be entirely necessary as long as we can analytically (or otherwise) make those connections on the basis of an analysis of the texts selected. (Text analyses are not necessarily limited to the main objects of analysis, after all.)

Outsider Text: A word should be said about this type of text. We consider policy texts to include, beside the ones produced by the formal legal-administrative apparatus of government, also those which are influential for the aims and directions given school practices, especially in a period of decentralization in state governance rules. "Outsider" texts in this study have included, for example, trade union documents, tracts written by academics who are influential in the formulation of governmental policies, documents produced at the local level to steer school level and district level reforms, financial and contract documents from the government, business/school partnership documents, and documents that have "public relations" formulations that are directed to mobilize social action in relation to schools.

We have included such documents in our analysis because we believe that their discourses intersect with those of the formal state policy statements and enable an intertextual analysis vital to our objective of understanding the images and narratives produced, the intersection of institutions in the policy arena in any one country, and the categories and styles of thinking (reasoning), through which problems of education are being constructed.

Additional Commentary

Each of the three categories named in the second analytical parameter above has been subject to a great deal of discussion, and each has been selected to offer sufficient communal/heuristic interest as well as sufficient flexibility to work as foundations for our policy text work.

Client has been selected to focus our attention on populations of people most likely to be of concern in relation to social inclusion and social exclusion. Clearly the term comes from within a discourse which differs from what we might think of as "traditional" educational discourses. It has been adopted here precisely for this reason. To be named a *client* is an effect of power and one of exclusion, even if the rhetorical value is to name a group as clients in order to develop more inclusionary practices.

Organization is a very broad category that can have at least two general meanings related to our earlier distinctions regarding equity and knowledge problematics. It is meant to include questions of personnel management (e.g., hiring/firing of teachers), changes in the organization structures of school systems, budgetary issues, etc. While such a general category poses the risk of making it difficult to identify common organizational features, that risk seems minor compared to the risk of including too much. A brief listing of possible organizational issues is included below. As in our consideration of time-frames, it seems we will need to make judgments about which organizational changes require discussion relatively to each national case. Note that this is clearly a departure from the simple quasi-experimental logic of comparing nominally similar background characteristics in the attempt to find variances in outcomes.

Organization can also refer to the ways in which policy discourses give action a certain kind of order and discipline. In this sense, it is the principles that classify and make possible the thinking about the features of structures, procedures, and policy that are attract our attention.

Curriculum is also intentionally broad. In addition to including typical school knowledge questions (what official knowledge is transmitted, reproduced, evaluated within classrooms), the general term makes it possible to include issues of the hidden curriculum or other non-official knowledge. We may also want to consider what knowledge is now being created by school systems in their own management as part of the curriculum (or this may need to be a point of a separate, "B discussion" along the way, throughout the project).

In trying to agree on what categories to include in Analytical Parameter II, the question of when to push for more theoretical motivated categories came to our attention. On the one hand, as we did with our case studies, there are advantages to taking up common-sense categories in the initial stages of Project B, in the attempt to offer each other descriptive accounts on which to build. On the other hand, since a major goal of our research is to question and unsettle conventional categories, there is a definite need to depart from common-sense categories at some point. The strategic question is when to make this departure. If the categories in Analytical Parameter II seem slightly odd, this is something of a "compromise B," an attempt to open up new theoretical pathways.

On the problem of federated and multi-system cases

We know that there are organizational distinctions in the administrative practices of governance that occur across the nations of our study. While we need to consider the different organizational and legal/administrative approaches within and among the countries of the study (e.g., federated, multi-system cases), it is important that the idea of governance as an administrative "system" be theorized through different sets of categories, such as with the distinctions of the "state" that were raised at our Uppsala meeting. Our classification system for distinguishing different legal/administrative systems entities should be general so that comparable points of reference can be established but, at the same time, this classification system needs to be heuristically valuable in the analysis of each of the national studies. This re-categorization is important for two reasons, (a) to avoid getting mired in organizational details that have little theoretical potency in our analysis when considering distinctions such as "federated" and seemingly "multi-system" cases, and (b) to give us comparability.

On research cooperation and reflexivity

The current study is based on cooperation between different research teams dealing with the same questions. While the research teams have a general agreement about the epistemological orientation of research, the operationalization of approaches across different countries and languages requires a continuous dialogue about the concepts and intellectual interest which form the basis for the questions we apply to the texts and interviews. We have engaged in a reflexivity related to the epistemological and operation tasks of our research in different ways:

Our collective meetings dealing with the tasks of the research have involved continually relating the research questions to the empirical tasks of the project. Second, we have worked in small groups, through electronic communication and other meetings, tackling the tasks of the project and then submitting the results to the group at large for comments and reactions. Third, we have reviewed the existing literature in a cross-disciplinary analysis to examine the conceptual distinctions made, the epistemological difficulties, and the different intellectual traditions on which to base a consideration of the relation of governance to concepts of inclusion and exclusion.

Thus, our documents can be read as a pragmatic progression of playing off the conceptualizations that guide the research project with the empirical "facts" in a manner that resembles a dialogue rather than induction or deduction. In this sense, the project proceeds through a conversation that does not consciously organize itself with precise directions for analyses besides the ones presented in this section.

Our approach builds on reflexivity as presented by Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992). If we wish to avoid objectivistic tendencies (as presented by empiricism) as well as subjectivistic (as in solipsism), we need to use an approach that identifies points of departure and tools used for work done and to present these and their perceived implications for a public discussion. By doing so we gain in precision as well as increased communicative action in research. This is something we consider particularly important in international cooperative research like the EGSIE project.

Notions on the constructions of national cases

Before we turn to national cases of text analysis, we present some aspects of these cases - how they are constructed and what kinds of tools are used to deal with the texts. A cornerstone of our approach is to build on national cases and to base the work on theoretical questions. How these questions are answered depends on the context in which the questions are put, the kind of texts selected, and which tools are being used.

Comments on contexts where texts are put

When we deal with transitions in education, we also deal with a changing context of education. We found different patterns in our cases.

In Finland and Sweden and to some extent in Iceland, the context is the welfare state – its rise and eventual decline, or declination. Changes in the welfare state frame the presentation of these texts. Perhaps this is linked to some kind of "uncritical heritage" vis-à-vis conceptions of the strong welfare state and the risk of overestimating recent changes, as noted in the Swedish chapter. As a subtext in the Finnish case, we find examples of a rather strong educational scientism – or faith in science when constructing educational systems.

In Germany, the context is situated differently. Since there is a federal structure, there were problems in defining a specific national context. In the texts used, we find three important contexts. The first deals with issues of autonomy or heteronomy in the German case and how to situate educational systems in this sense. Should education work as an integrating system in the federal state or should schools get increased autonomy? The second issue deals with immigration and "the German identity" as applied by right wing political parties. The third has to do with the integration of the former East Germany into the "new" Germany.

In Portugal and Spain, transition towards a welfare state is a context of vital importance. In Portugal, we note the constraints between modernization and democratization and the problem of constructing a legitimate and efficient education system. We find a similar pattern in Spain. There, issues of central and federal control and school autonomy are of particular importance. In that sense, the country is similar to the German and the Scottish cases. Beyond that, youth unemployment provides a background for social inclusion/exclusion.

Greece is similar to the Nordic cases in that reform failures serve as context for recent transitions. A recurrent theme here is the problem of centralism, with the difference that the Nordic education systems are decentralized.

In England, the texts are located in a "post-utopian" context, where markets as well as Left romantic strategies have been replaced with the "third way" by the Blair government. The context is thus the start of the new Labour policy in education.

One last notion: A simple distinction between the national cases lies in the development of a welfare state; Portugal, Spain, and Greece are moving towards a position that the Nordic cases are leaving.

Selection of texts

Our selection of texts varied among countries. In all but one country (Germany), legislative, governmental administrative or legal documents were used as central documents for analysis. Germany's decentralized administrative organization of education produced an analysis that was directed to the statements on education made by the various political parties. In addition, some of the analyses began in the past, to provide a sense of development and change, while others maintained a focus on the present. Finally, the examined documents included local and regional guidelines in changing schools, union policy statements, and academic expert statements in cases where those actors have been influential in the formulation of policy, such as in England. These distinctions among the various nations reflect different historical positionings of school systems within the political system as well as different responses to the changes in government traditions regarding education management.

Table 1:2: Overview of selection of texts for analysis.

National cases	*Texts selected*
Finland	In focus 16 texts: various governmental, legislative, and administrative texts.
Germany	Documents from political parties dealing with education policy issues. In sum 7 texts plus press releases.
Greece	3 texts: one policy document from the Ministry of Education, three laws, one speech.
Iceland	3 texts: one document from the Education Ministry, one document from the Finance Ministry on contract management, and one Education Ministry booklet on self-evaluation policy (1998).
Portugal	7 documents: guidelines for education, guidelines of educational policy. Two documents for creation of conditions for changes.
Spain	7 documents: five law texts, one party platform, and one government white paper.
Sweden	5 documents: two Government Bills and two government programs for the development of education. One development program as an agreement between teacher unions and the Federation of Local Authorities.
UK: England	3 texts: one Government White Paper, one educational researcher policy essay, one Government Press Release.
UK: Scotland	3 texts: two Scottish Office documents and one policy document from the General Teaching Council.

In addition to the texts listed above, a large number of other texts are referred to in the different cases.

What we are about to present is a thorough analysis of texts that are part of current discourses on education governance in a set of national contexts. In sum, we have reason to believe that this combination of detailed analyses will lead us to a broad picture of governance changes in Europe.

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2. Finland

Risto Rinne, Joel Kivirauma, Piia Hirvenoja & Hannu Simola:

From Comprehensive School Citizen towards Self-selective Individual

Introduction

In this paper, the governance of the Finnish education system is analyzed from the end of the 1960s to the end of the 1990s. This time period of thirty years is long enough to understand the essential changes in the Finnish education system, policy, and governance. Our text analysis is constructed on a host of carefully selected and analyzed governmental committee reports and legislative and administrative texts. These texts can be characterized as official and strict "state educational discourse".

Part I discusses education policy changes in relation to social inclusion and exclusion in Finland. The reason for choosing the 1960s as a starting point comes from the fact that the nine-year comprehensive school was established then, while the closing point demarcates the presentation of a major reform in education legislation in 1998/99. The questions we addressed in our analysis were: What ideas and reforms regarding education management are presented in the documents? What are the arguments for education policy changes? What is the relationship between governance and social inclusion and exclusion?

Part II concentrates on questions of the construction of habitus in Finnish state educational discourse during the last thirty years. How do these texts characterize and classify individuals, create groups, and determine the Finnish "model citizen"? What do the texts imply about the relationship between subjects, society, nation, and globalization? What do the texts tell us about the role of parents and students? We will also ask how the Finnish teacher is constructed in the state educational discourse. This part of the analysis consists of two questions that appear to be essentially related to the problems of social inclusion and exclusion: First, what constitutes the fundamental quality and main object of the teacher's work? Second, how are two-dimensional relationships constructed, on the one hand, between the teacher and the pupil(s) and, on the other, between the teacher and the governance?

In Part III, we ask what the documents are telling us about the basic changes in construction of the Finnish narrative of educational saga, and we ask what changes there are in the stories of progress, the images, the myths, and the sagas produced by the state in educational documents.

As a conclusion, we give a summary table (Table 1) of the core features of each part in relation to change, including the two periods that emerge based on the texts. The crucial breaking point of the latest history of the Finnish educational story and narrative in this context is to be found somewhere in the middle of the 1980s.

Changes in Finnish education system and governance in relation to social inclusion and exclusion

Transition to homogenous nine-year comprehensive schooling (1960s–1980s)

Introducing comprehensive schooling in Finland in the late 1960s was a crucial step towards increasing social inclusion in the educational system. The idea of comprehensive schooling had been under debate for over a century. After compulsory education was introduced in 1921, each following decade produced a new committee that was to prepare a plan for comprehensive schooling. In 1963, the Parliament took the initiative in forcing government to reform the educational system along the principles of comprehensive schooling. The plan, with all its arguments and suggestions, was made by the Committee of School Reform (CR 1966: A 12). At the same time, the political power in educational field shifted, and for the first time, the head of the National Board of Education was made a powerful representative of Social Democratic Party, R. H. Oittinen. In Parliament, the left and center/agrarian parties were the political agents behind the reform. Social Democrats and Communists demanded equality of educational opportunities mostly on a social basis, the agrarian party mostly for reasons of regional policy (Rinne & Vuorio-Lehti 1996).

The Committee of School Reform argued that a transition to a comprehensive kind of school was inevitable due to the structural changes of society, the emergence of the knowledge society, and changes in children's aptitudes and development. By changes in the structure of society, the committee meant changes in economic structure, immigration, diminution of age classes, and an increase in the demand for education. The human capital argument was also crucial:

> "Most of the population in all occupations are about to work in such tasks that their efficiency can be increased immediately by education. This leads us to an educated society and is at the same time the rational case for increasing education" (CR 1966: A 12, 9-10, 99-100).

Belief in science and scientific psychological and pedagogical knowledge was astonishingly great. An increase in the psychological and educational understanding of the "developmental stages" of children's growth, the Committee claimed, would have led to school reform sooner or later, regardless of changes in society:

> "There could not have been enough attention paid on the one hand to typical features of and on the other hand to differences between individuals because there hasn't been enough information until now. Our knowledge on these subjects has increased and is so versatile nowadays thanks to modern scientific methods that as a matter a fact they form the basic element which would lead us to the necessity of school reform even though there would not have occurred the present great changes in society" (CR 1966: A 12, 10).

The idea was that the parallel school system was based on the scientifically and socially false idea of dividing education into two totally different sets of content. According to more modern research results, however, children could not be divided into so-called theoretically and practically oriented groups (CR 1966: A 12, 11-12). There was also a "social deadlock" built into the parallel school system because of the small group that was left out of middle school and ended up in an unequal position in society when middle school gradually became a general prerequisite for all post-graduate education and even for employment (CR 1966: A 12, 12, 100).

In order to carry out comprehensive schooling, the school should be organized in a pedagogically and governmentally uniform and integrated form. A governmentally integrated comprehensive school was based on a rather strict, wide division of the whole country into school districts. In each district, the schools recruited all the 7–15-year-old children of the district. All children were allocated to schools on the basis of their families' residence. Formerly only primary schools and council schools had intake districts, whereas private and state-owned middle schools had chosen their pupils selectively. Introducing comprehensive schooling meant, in practice, that the division of school districts depended totally on the number of pupils, i.e., that there were enough children in each district for one viable lower secondary school and that the distance to school was fairly reasonable or, in the sparsely-populated countryside, transferable.

The education of 7–15-year-old children was no longer selective on the basis of the economic or cultural capital of the child's family nor on gender. Also the child's region or residency as such no longer prevented children from getting the same kind of education for nine years, up to the age of 15 (CR 1966: A 12, 70, 82-83).

For governmental and pedagogical uniformity, according to the committee,

> "it is necessary that the comprehensive school is under the same owner and administrator and the middle schools of state and private owners are handed over to the management of municipalities".

An exception:

However, the committee continued,

> "in some cases it might be possible to organize school structure in the big townships such that one or two of the divisions are allowed to be taken by a private school".

This did not disturb the fact that in principle the whole age cohort was integrated in one comprehensive school, because

> "(...) this kind of arrangement is possible on the condition that these schools obey the curriculum of the comprehensive school and take in pupils without any selection (...)" (CR 1966: A 12, 84, 103).

There are very few private schools that cover the comprehensive school period, but even those few that exist are an integrative part of the comprehensive system despite their separate ownership.

Great effort was put into integrating special education into the general school system. The Special Education Committee recommended that each child be accepted to and considered as attending general school and that in addition there should be individually required support arrangements. If these arrangements were not sufficient, then the children should immediately be offered the opportunity to attend a special class or school. In the case of handicapped children, education at home was considered to be an exceptional solution only. According to the Special Education Committee, legislation should be improved so that it would be the responsibility of the municipalities to guarantee every child the kind of education appropriate to him/her (CR 1970: A 16, 116, 126-130). The suggestion was made that releases from compulsory education should be totally abolished. Instead of allowing children to be released from compulsory education, education and rehabilitation should be arranged corresponding to each child's prerequisites for development (CR 1970, 116).

After attending the comprehensive grades, the whole undivided age cohort now studied for nine years side by side instead of the former division after four years. The transition was not, however, radical and sudden. The comprehensive school system had to respond to the political conflicts and struggles of the historically new challenge by organizationally differentiating the children within the comprehensive school through ability grouping. During the first years of the new system, the teaching of foreign languages and mathematics was ability-differentiated according to three levels in lower secondary school (classes 7-9) on the basis of speed-differentiation. In the curricula and inner tracks of studying, aspects that were to be taken into account were the "speed of studying", "potential of development" and "the difference between pupils" (CR 1966: A 12, 69, 102; CR 1970: A 4, 138-142). Organizing selective streaming inside the comprehensive school was most often argued on the basis of "individual needs". The result of this streaming was, however, that ability grouping classified pupils in different tracks that determined their future life. Those classified in the lowest level in mathematics or foreign languages came to a dead end; they did not receive the required qualifications to proceed to upper secondary school. It was evident that grouping by ability mostly excluded children of families of the lower social classes, as well as boys (CR 1975: 109, 22-24, 28).

Since 1984, ability grouping has been abolished. Along with comprehensive school reform, special education has expanded rapidly and has become a permanent part of comprehensive schooling. During comprehensive education, every sixth student receives, at some stage, special education, and every tenth teacher is a special education teacher (Jauhiainen & Kivirauma 1997).

Many efforts were also made to include the whole age cohort in post-compulsory education. The number of students was increased in secondary education to expand to more than 100 percent of the age group. Post-compulsory education was decentralized across the country and made regionally more attainable in the 1980s. At the same time, there were efforts to better the vertical integration of the whole school system and create better possibilities to move within it (CR 1983: 62, 162-163, 168-170; CR 1983: 60). Those who had weak results from the syllabus of the comprehensive school were given better opportunities to continue their education when municipalities were made responsible for offering voluntary extra classes for one year.

Deregulation, integration of sector steering, and building up the Evaluative State (1980s – 1990s)

The strongly centralized planning and steering system of education, which had evolved for decades but reached its peak during the rise of comprehensive school reform, was abandoned through a resolution of the government in 1988 to reform the whole management of the state. Behind this new policy was a politically very influential decentralization committee (CR 1986: 12). This committee clarified the new strategy of how functions and authority were to be transferred from the central state to the municipalities and administrative districts, and what changes were to be made in the functions and status of the central administration boards. At the same time, the evaluation committee took the place of the former planning system (CR 1985: 41). In 1988, the government's proposal was to establish a single statutory planning system for the field of education. It aimed to interweave all school grades and all school forms into the same strategic planning system. The former sector planning systems, with their extremely detailed and narrow steering regulations, were more or less abandoned. Considered among the many defects of the former sector planning were its diversity and unfitting time-tables, the poor implementation of state planning, the bureaucracy of the planning, much waste of time, the uselessness of detailed and inflexible orders, etc. (CR 1989: 1, 1-2, 21; Kivinen, Rinne, Järvinen, Koivisto & Laakso 1995).

The new development plan for education approved by the government viewed the education system as an entirety, and it was more concise than former sector plans. There was an ambition to make the planning process simpler and faster, although the national development plan would be still drawn up as a multilevel plan. The primary importance of the national development plan was attached to essential goals and lines of operation, improving conditions for the development of prerequisites for action and putting far more emphasis than previously in evaluation of the results. Evaluation was to be made continuous and take place at all levels of education (CR 1989a: 1, 23-25; CR 1989b: 2, 3, 5-6).

The decentralization of education management was argued for only explicitly in the development plans, but this was mainly following the general principles of the change in development and goals of the whole Finnish governance policy. The Committee of the Development of Education referred in its first report to decentralization as follows:

> "With the help of the education planning system the general principles of development are promoted by increasingly conveying authority from central management to provincial governments, educational institutions, schools, municipalities and universities" (CR 1989: 1, 25).

In the second part of the report, the committee stated that

> "The development plan for education is also in harmony with the project of the Ministry of Finance to rationalize sector planning and with the general goals to decentralise" (CR 1989: 2, 2).

The same kind of statements were repeated in the early 1990s in the development plans for education (Ministry of Education 1991, 30). The issue was to decentralize all of state management and to improve managerialism by giving it strong hands, i.e., this was not a question of the management of education only.

It was also stated in the Committee Report of the Reform of Education Legislation (CR 1996:4) that the steering system of education "came as other sectors of management came under re-evaluation in the 1980s." The autonomy of municipalities was strengthened and management was rationalized. Centralized management, it was claimed, had become unstable and inconvenient in relation to the efficient, economic, and valuable steering and production of services for the citizens (CR 1996: 4, 23.)

The power of local school authorities was increased in 1985 when the extremely strict regulations of streaming and curriculum were replaced by a resource quota called the "frame system of teaching hours." In addition, the steering mechanisms of municipalities were also changed by several development projects of the government that were started at the end of the 1980s. The authority of the Ministry and the National Board of Education to steer municipalities was revoked. The law that came into force in 1991 repealed many of the regulations that had steered municipalities and other organizers of education (CR 1996: 4, 23-24.)

The authority of both municipalities and schools increased and the style of management changed due to the reformed allocation of state subsidies after 1993. Central management no longer regulated in detail the allocation of resources. The purpose of the new system was to encourage organizers of education to find solutions that would serve the flexible purposes of functions and economics. In addition, the allocation of resources between different administrative areas became more and more flexible, so that the allocation of resources after 1993 was more dependent on local values (CR 1996: 4, 24).

There were plans to replace the former management of the central steering and regulating of municipal education with rather massive operations of evaluation. One of the priorities of national development plans of education was to decide how to assess goals and essential lines of action and how to carry out evaluation and follow up results (CR 1989a: 1, 24; CR 1989b: 2, 3-4; Ministry of Education 1991, 30-31; Ministry of Education 1996, 8). A plan to develop "evaluation practices and measures of efficiency for both national and self-evaluation of schools" was drawn up (Ministry of Education 1991a, 12, 31). Towards the end of the 90s, the government's resolution was stated more clearly:

> "The National Board of Education, together with local and regional experts when needed, will evaluate all the forms of [other than higher] education and the most important sub-sectors by the end of the planning period" (Ministry of Education 1996, 8).

These guidelines were soon after established by law. The basic role of evaluation was one of the main points in the reform of education legislation (Education Legislation 1999). The statutory evaluation system was seen as necessary when moving from norm steering to steering by outcomes. According to the Committee Report of the Reform of the Education Legislation: "Evaluation is an essential means to guarantee the quality of education services and their national comparability," while the purpose of evaluation is "to support development of education and improve conditions of learning." Based on the policies of the Ministry of Education, the National Board of Education decides how to accomplish evaluation. The organizers of education are obligated to evaluate all the education within their district. This self-evaluation includes evaluation on both the school level and the level of the organizer of education, which is usually the municipal level (CR 1996: 4, 55, 82-85, 106-107).

The committee emphasized "soft policy" rhetoric several times, by which they meant that the evaluation system is not intended to be a governmental tool of steering, but an essential part of developing education services locally, regionally, and nationally. In addition, evaluation is aimed at "producing information for students and their parents of achievements of goals and as the basis for making different kind of choices" (CR 1996: 4, 84).

As can be seen in the arguments on the evaluation system, the discourse of choice has become a very typical part of the Finnish education discourse of the 1990s.

"Free choice" as the rationale of educational politics and discourse in preventing the exclusion of children at risk (in the 1990s)

The emphasis of education politics was placed on increasing "free choice" in every level of education. There were proposals in the beginning of the 1990s to increase choice in the comprehensive school between subjects and also between the quantity of studied subjects in the development plans of education. The emphasis of individuality is seen, e.g., in using the concept of "the individual study plan" in the development plan of education (Ministry of Education 1991).

"To increase families' right to choose" was extended alongside "individual study plans" to include the possibility of choice between schools to some extent in the new reform of education legislation. Municipalities are still obligated to allocate children to schools "on grounds of a distance as safe and short as possible," but pupils can apply to any school other than the allocated one, although a pupil always has the right to go to the allocated school (CR 1996, 62-63, 169). Before the introduction of the comprehensive school, there was never any mention of school choice in the discourse of Finnish state education.

The emphasis on choice shifted in the development plans of education in the 1990s. It was more moderate at the end than in the beginning. At the beginning of the 1990s it was stated that:

> "The school system is developed according to principles of lifelong learning emphasizing the goals to raise the quality and reform the contents of education and individualise teaching and increasing choice" (Ministry of Education 1991, 7).

Five years later, the essential criteria of development of education were: "high quality, equal opportunities and lifelong learning" (Ministry of Education 1996, 5). By the end of the 90s, education politics emphasized "basic security of education," which meant that "a child or young person has the right and opportunity to develop his or her personality and everyone has the right to teaching according to his or her own level of development".

But there were no more directly mentioned choices in the education policy plan at the end of the 1990s. "Basic security of education" also meant, on the other hand, that

> "Education arrangements will take into account those who need more support and help. The pupils are provided with the necessary support and other services, such as student care and guidance" (Ministry of Education 1996, 6).

Equality was emphasized at the end of 1990s as "equality of opportunities" and most commonly "between men and women" for example in language education and in information and communication technologies (Ministry of Education 1996, 7). The quite clear discursive transformation from "free choice" to "prevent exclusion" must be seen in connection with the recent public criticism against neo-liberal school policies. Many leading researchers in the field have been especially active in this criticism. The governance discourse might be characterized as political "rhetoric of demonstration" (Ladwig 1996).

Along with the increase in choice, there were new kinds of discourse on preventive action for youth at risk or excluded. In the beginning of the 1990s the discourse spoke of developing "guidance and training methods to prevent exclusion from education and working life" (Ministry of Education 1991, 8). At the end of decade, this was worded as "special attention will be paid to preventive action geared to students who encounter difficulties in school and those at risk of exclusion" (Ministry of Education 1996, 6.). For the first time, the state educational discourse made mention of the need "to eliminate school harassment" and "to enhance school satisfaction" (Ministry of Education 1996, 6). In this connection, there was a proposal regarding "the pupil's right to a safe learning environment" (CR 1996, 169).

Along with new governance reforms that emphasized locality, compulsory education was expanded. Handicapped students who were formerly exempt from compulsory education and were under social management were brought into comprehensive school in 1985 and 1997 (Ministry of Education 1996, 6; CR 1996, 66-67). The arrangement of education for the children of immigrants was also mentioned for the first time in Finnish education policy documents in the 1990s (Ministry of Education 1991, 34). At the end of the decade, education was made compulsory for all 7–16-year-old children living permanently in Finland. Before, compulsory education had only concerned Finnish citizens (CR 1996, 108.)

Constantly during the 1990s, the need to re-organize pre-school education was brought up. Various arrangements for pre-school had been planned and carried out, sometimes in experimental form, ever since comprehensive schooling had been introduced (CR 1972: A 13; CR 1978: 5). The school law of 1983 (SA 474/1983) made pre-school arrangement possible, but legislation did not obligate municipalities to act. The goal of pre-school for all 6-year-old children was written into the development plan of education in 1991 (Ministry of Education 1991, 7), but it was later abolished after bitter fights over the plan in the revised version in 1993 due to "changed economic circumstances." The goal of pre-school education was repeated in the next plan covering the years 1995-2000 (Ministry of Education 1996, 8) and in the Committee Report of the Reform of the Education Legislation (Ministry of Education 1996, 8), which expressed it as "a child's right to one year of pre-education that is free of charge." This goal was not adopted, however, by the new legislation.

The "new school policy discourse" in Finland in the 1990s can be characterized in two ways. On one hand, it was clearly "neo-liberal," based on free choice, deregulation, and assessment. This was and still is, in the late 1990s, the main trend. On the other hand, the old comprehensive school policy still exists. This can most clearly be seen in the advancement of education for handicapped and immigrant students. The pre-school discourse, too, is part of that policy.

Construction of habitus in state educational discourse in Finland from the late 1960s to the late 1990s

In the following, we will first trace the way the pupil and his/her family has been constituted in the state educational discourse in Finland since the early comprehensive school reform in the end of the 1960s. Then in the second part of the chapter, we will outline how talk about the teacher has changed.

From citizen to individual

The committees of 1960s that constructed the comprehensive school characterized pupils as differing in "abilities and features" in "aptitudes" for various subjects. The Committee of School Reform emphasized that "differences between pupils should be paid attention to," which was the essential and only argument for differentiating teaching on an organized basis. Pupils' "speed of studying" was named on the basis for the group division, in other words, the measure of differences between pupils' abilities and features in aptitudes culminated in the speed of studying. The theoretical and practical talents of the individual were not seen as contradictory and therefore no attention was given the organization of comprehensive education along two entirely different tracks (CR 1966: A 12, 69, 100-101.) However, children were still classified socially, according to their home environment. There were "children who have grown up in an environment rich in stimuli," who had broad experiences and thus were better motivated and culturally equipped to learn. And then there were "children who have lived in an environment without stimuli." These deprived children should be paid special attention according to the Curriculum Committee of the Comprehensive School (CR 1970: A 4, 96-97).

The committees that recommended the abolishment of ability grouping for pupils in the subjects of foreign languages and mathematics had another image and understanding of students' differences. These differences were no any longer seen as permanent features or genetic "habitus." The presumption turned to comprehension of the fact that the learning ability of an individual or a group is related to certain requirements and prerequisites and that the success of each learning process is dependent on sufficient guidance and time. As evidence for this new way of thinking, the proposal of the 1971 Report of the Education Committee was "to develop a pedagogy that is based on overcoming learning difficulties," which is a necessary condition, according to committee, for the comprehensive school, which has a uniform core syllabus. The principle of overcoming learning difficulties is based on two core assumptions:

> "First, the learning ability of individual is tied to the developmental stage of society, to those demands and circumstances that society sets for the individual [and] second, a learning process that is logical and based on previous knowledge is fairly similar for different individuals (...) *The delaying or cessation of learning is not evidently the cause of the physiological dysfunction of the brain but incomplete control of metacognitions that are necessary for learning"* (CR 1973: 52, 65-66, our italics).

Later, the Committee on the Differentiation of Teaching in the Comprehensive School put it straight:

> "The special features, exceptions or weaknesses are not seen as unchangeable, especially defects in the studying and learning of an individual should not be regarded as permanent" (CR 1975: 109, 255).

At the beginning of 1980s, the discourse on the differences between pupils culminated in the pupils' "periods of life" or "developmental stages," on the basis of which pupils were classified according to their capacities of learning. According to the Committee of the School Legislation in 1981,

> "To achieve the goals of education and teaching of comprehensive school it is necessary to take into account pupils' periods of life and aptitudes. Children of the same age are not necessarily at the same stage of development. The schools' mission is to pay special attention to those children with weak capacities of learning, but without putting obstacles in the paths of other pupils".

The traditional names of the schools and classes of special education that were stigmatizing pupils were abandoned through education legislation in the early 1980s. Instead, comprehensive school included "different kind of special classes" (CR 1981: 34, 19).

Ten years later, the differences between pupils were described in the development plan for 1991-1995 as pupils with "talent" and pupils "weakly motivated to study." In the early 1990s, the discourse of pupils' developmental stages turned once again to classification according to pupils' talent, but now also more strongly tied to motivation. In the development plan for 1995-2000, the groups of pupils mentioned were "those who need more support and help" and "students who encounter difficulties in school and those at risk of exclusion." The concept of talent was no longer used at the end of the 1990s. Instead the idea cropped up again to "teach according to the pupil's developmental stage" (Ministry of Education 1996, 6).

The discourse of individuality has been emphasized throughout the entire introduction and development of comprehensive schooling in Finnish state educational discourse, but it has had different senses in different periods. When comprehensive schooling was introduced, individuality was seen as the "arrangement of teaching according to pupils' special features in aptitudes and prerequisites of development" (CR 1966: A 12), whereas in the discourse of the 1990s, "everyone has the right to teaching according to their level of development" (Ministry of Education 1996, 6). The basic idea during the first two decades of comprehensive schooling was for organizers of education to define the pupils' abilities in aptitude prerequisites of development and then arrange education individually according to the results. In the beginning of comprehensive school, this meant differentiating through heterogeneous ability grouping and later differentiating teaching within the homogenous class. Most recently, starting in the early 1990s, pupils were gradually seen as active subjects or "customers" who make individual choices for their "individual study plan" from the diversity of "education services" on the market, without visible ties or bounds to their social background or cultural heritage.

Through the state educational discourse from the late 1960s to the late 1980s, model citizens produced by the comprehensive school have been characterized as responsible and cooperative citizens who develop both themselves and their society. The principle of the Curriculum Committee of the Comprehensive School expresses this explicitly:

> "A pupil is not allowed to be an object to outside influences but the pupil is a subject. On the other hand it is accepted as an aim that the development of an individual is to be a responsible member of his/her own native country and of mankind" (CR 1970: A 4, 22).

Later, there was a realization that the steady changing and renewing of society requires stable, creative, responsible, mentally independent, and cooperative citizens who continually desire to develop themselves and society (CR 1981: 34, 19; CR 1983: 60, 5; CR 1983: 62, 219). Teachers required the same quality for the basis of their values and attitudes (CR 1975:75, 29; CR 1989: 26, 39).

In the construction of the "new model citizen" in the 1990s, there were no longer any references to pupils as "citizens for improving society." Instead the development plans for education in the 1990s referred to ethical education and saw the role of the pupil as an active learner:

> "The pupils are given guidance to search for information, understand, evaluate and use the information. ... In education there is emphasis on basic security of teaching and positive development of self-esteem and improved the readiness to act as a group, to self-expression and to creativeness. Particularly there is to be paid tension to understanding good manners and ethical values".

The emphasis on pupils' activity can also be seen as an attempt to increase pupils' ability to work on their own and to shift the emphasis of a teacher's work to the role of guidance (Ministry of Education 1991, 7, 11). In this new relationship of teachers and pupils, the teacher was seen as a "counselor of learning" or a "designer of the learning environments" of the individual "learners." The school was expected to offer "individual study plans" or even "personal curricula" in accordance with learning needs and qualities of pupils (Cur. 1994, 10, 20).

The model pupil of the 1990s was expected above all to become a master of the basic skills of international communication (Ministry of Education 1991, 33-34; Ministry of Education 1995, 6-7) and to understand information and communication technologies and use them as a tool in learning, research, work, and spare time (Ministry of Education 1996, 7). By the end of the decade, the discourse of tolerance appeared in development plan for education:

> "Measures will be taken to promote ethical education, tolerance and multiculturalism, and to intensify the fight against racism and xenophobia"* (Ministry of Education 1996, 6-7).

As a whole, the model citizen of the 1990s in the state discourse of education can be characterized as an active and ethical learner who constructs the information, is tolerant and understands different cultures, has a wide knowledge of foreign languages and uses information and communication technologies. Compared to the 60s and 70s, the difference is obvious. While the old comprehensive school educated citizens who shared traditional collective values of the "modern society," the new "post-modern citizen" is seen developing his/her capabilities for himself/herself through schooling.

Subjects and globalization

International perspectives, together with awareness of partnership in the global village, have markedly influenced the state educational discourse, particularly in the 1990s. But international arguments are not really new. They are to be found in the state educational discourse throughout the history of the comprehensive school period.

The arguments of comprehensive school reform (CR 1966: A 12) referred to subjects' and entire nations' relationships to the rest of the world and to world society. They implied a solidarity of nations. According to the Committee of School Reform:

> "The media have made all citizens aware of the world so that there has grown a need for families to give their children such basic education which would open up opportunities as wide as possible to continuing education. In the parallel school system this kind of basic education was offered only by middle school to which most of the age cohort attended".

The citizens' increasing knowledge of the world, which also raised the desire for education, was one of the arguments in favor of the comprehensive school. The change in the Finnish society's international position was also given as an argument for the comprehensive school:

> "In addition, the Finnish people and the state have developed to a new stage in relation to the surrounding world. There has been a change from passive attitude to active co-operation with the rest of the world" (CR 1966: A 12, 10, 99).

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*Of course, we have to keep in mind the whole time that the documents analyzed here are mainly memoranda, curricula, and plans, and that there may be quite a distance between warm political rhetoric and cold reality.

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The nation itself and mutual understanding between nations were emphasized in the comprehensive school's curriculum. According to the Curriculum Committee of the Comprehensive School, schools should "guide pupils to become aware of their belonging to a nation" and "to see that the nation which has its original culture can also make a better contribution to international co-operation." Along with awareness of belonging to a nation, the aim of the comprehensive school was to "develop pupils' awareness of solidarity with all nations" (CR 1970: A 4, 39-40).

In the 1970s, it was maintained that when reforming the content of education, attention needed to be paid to "human rights in general and the requirements of international interaction and co-operation" (CR 1975: 109, 64). In the early 1980s, one of the basic aims of comprehensive school was still: "(...) to promote in pupils the readiness to international co-operation, solidarity and peace" (CR 1981: 34, 19). Behind the principle of continuing education, there was the global situation in which the problems of the world also concerned the Finns as a part of the world society, due to increased and faster communication. That is why it is "more and more important to bring people up to answer the challenges of international interaction" (CR 1983: 62, 19-21).

Although one of the particular priorities of education politics in the 1990s was to establish an international perspective on education, there was no mention of solidarity between nations, mutual understanding or "the world society" in state discourse of education policy, as there was in the 1970s and 1980s. Instead, internationality is seen as a quality of the individual. The schools' task, in the documents of the 1990s, is to give the pupil "the basic skills of international communication" by diversifying education for international understanding and the teaching of foreign languages and by international cooperation in education (Ministry of Education 1991, 33-34). At the end of the 1990s, "globalization as a part of everyday life" was stated as one of the main priorities for the development of education, to take advantage of the knowledge of foreign languages and cultures and for the development of tolerance and multiculturalism (Ministry of Education 1996, 6-7).

Families and pupils as agents

One part of the construction of habitus in education policy texts is the role constructed for families and pupils when making decisions on education.

There is a clear change in the role of families and pupils during the three decades of Finnish comprehensive school we chose to focus on.

In the early days of comprehensive school, it is believed that "when pupils get older they can participate more in the solutions that concern the goals [of education]." The opportunity of pupils to participate in the decision-making of education was classified as a means of influencing the social climate of class and as a part of school democracy:

> "The democratic system means that pupils really have power concerning their studies and on the other hand the system requires that pupils have adequate information on the consequences of the decisions that they have made" (CR 1970: A 4, 21, 98).

The Committee of 1970 referred to the role of the parents only very briefly: "In the school, the teacher should pay attention, at least to a certain degree, to the expectations of the pupils' parents". The Committee foresaw, however, possible disagreements in upbringing between the parents and the teacher as "a difficult problem" (CR 1970: A 4, 21).

Parents and pupils were given the power to choose ability group, but the position of school as a guide for final choices was emphasized. At first, parents were supposed to consult teachers about the choices (CR 1966: A 12, 74). The Curriculum Committee of the Comprehensive School wrote that "for a start", the ability group was to be chosen by the pupil and his/her guardian, but the school had the ultimate right to change the group later, if the choice appeared to be incorrect (CR 1970: A 4, 141).

In the state education policy documents of the 1980s, the role of the parents vis-à-vis pupils was mentioned only rarely. Along with the comprehensive school reform, school boards were abolished, and the municipal boards of education were seen as a functional solution well capable of serving the purposes of the new school system. The school law of 1984 re-established the school boards, with the intent of increasing possibilities of parents to influence the school. Three of the members of the school board were to be parents (CR 1981: 43, 22).

In the discourse of the 1990s, pupils and parents are seen as active and rational subjects. Pupils and parents are characterized as "users of services," and organizing education as "a production of services that take into account citizens' needs" (CR 1996: 4, 55, 23). The purpose of evaluation was to "increase the parents' and pupils' knowledge of quality of education and to improve the conditions for making different kinds of choices" (CR 1996, 85, 107). The role of parents and pupils as choice-makers is rather heavily emphasized in the new educational legislation, but there is still no actual "right" to get into the school of one's choice, only the right to be admitted to a school allocated by the municipalities (CR 1996, 62-63).

The goal-conscious and individualistic teacher [*]

The concept of the teacher as a "model citizen" has been especially vital in official discourse. Since the duty of the primary school teacher was thought of as to guarantee that every citizen achieved a proper level of decent manners and behavior habits, they themselves were carefully recruited according to the same premises. Traditionally, the teacher was to be an exemplary citizen, outwardly and inwardly. Demands for exemplary outward behavior did not vanish from the official texts until the 1980s, finally disappearing from legislation in the 1990s. But demands on teachers' inner behavior has been even more persistent, even if its content has changed. Democratic values have gradually replaced the Christian ethos that existed between the 1940s and 1970s. "Pedagogical love" for children shifted to the more cognitive "correct educational attitude" or – as a curricular committee report for teacher training put it in the late 1960s – the student teacher should have a "positive attitude towards the school and the career of the teacher, and an interest in pupils and their development" (CR 1968:A6, 9). Emotions were thus to be directed towards the institution and the profession rather than to the pupils.

In the 1970 curriculum, goal consciousness emerged as a central quality for the teacher at the new comprehensive school. In the 1980s, teachers' obligations "to pursue the attainment of goals stated for the comprehensive school" were written into the legislation (Curr 1985, 59). The commitment to the goals then formed the point at which the institutional belief in mass schooling intersected with convictions about the power of the official curriculum as the main tool for the development of school practices. Further, it was believed that these goals, in some reasonable sense, were attainable and realistic, rather than guidelines, as earlier. The consciousness of these goals has replaced both the traditional consciousness of the mission and the external exemplarity. Goal consciousness became the most central professional quality of the teacher.

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[*] The following two parts on the teaching profession are based mainly on a manuscript Simola, H. (1999) Constructing the Finnish teacher in state educational discourse during the 1990s. A paper for the NOS-S Symposium "Decentralization and Professionalism: The Construction of the New Teacher in the Nordic Countries", 19-21 March, 1999, Oslo.

This idea has been confirmed in the 1990s, although the current 1994 curriculum explicitly declares the abandonment of "the goal-oriented learning ideology" (CUR 1994, 10). Ironically, it recognizes, at least formally, the 1970 ideal of a uniform "goal system" set in terms of individual pupil learning. While the 130-year history of the Finnish curriculum up to 1994 was a continuum of a more and more sophisticated and exact articulation of what was to be taught by the teacher, the 1994 curriculum brought about a dramatic break in this continuity. Curriculum contents have been absorbed into abstract and general notions, while the goals take center stage, stating uniformly and systematically what the individual pupil should learn. It is fair to say that the 1994 curriculum, or more precisely, the national "framework curriculum," is composed almost entirely of goals and the assessment of their achievement.

It is no wonder, then, that "goal-consciousness", i.e. the internalization of the official goals, became the essence of the ideal teacher during the reform of the 1970s. The role of goals now, however, is different. The centralized goal system where goals mainly served educational planning and material production has been replaced by a centralized assessment system. The shift in the 1990s from norm steering towards steering of results made goals the pivotal elements of the system. The assessment of goals and essential lines of action as well as evaluation and follow-up of outcomes were set up as the priorities of national development plans in education (Ministry of Education 1991, 30-31; 1995, 8). A plan to develop "evaluation practices and measures of efficiency for both national and self evaluation of schools" was drawn up (Ministry of Education 1991, 12, 31). In the Finnish state educational discourse, however, there have not yet been concrete decisions regarding how this steering according to results is to be realized. One may conclude in sum that while the emphasis on goal-rationalism up to the late 1980s was based on the idea of controlling teacher's work in advance, it moved during the 1990s towards the idea of goals as a basis for assessment, evaluation, and the measurement of results, i.e. for control afterwards.

The second dimension of the fundamental qualities of the teaching profession deals with the object of teachers' work: a group of pupils or the individual pupil? In Finland, the modern individual surpassed society as the primordial source of legitimization for schooling only after the late 1960s. The 1970 curriculum proposed a core of new individualist discourse while stating that pedagogic expediency and flexibility were more important than the number of pupils. At the same time, the basic problem of teaching shifted in official texts from the number of pupils to the diversity of pupil personalities. The work of the teacher changed from molding the school life of a group of pupils to an individual-centered task.

The promise to respond to the diversity of pupils culminated in the most recent texts, where the individual-centered task of the teacher is strengthened by the emphasis on the ethical character of teachers' work (CR 1989). In the 1994 curriculum, the teacher was seen as a "counselor of learning" or a "designer of the learning environments" of individual "learners." The school would now undertake to offer "individual study plans" or even "personal curricula" in accordance with the learning needs and qualities of the pupils (Curr 1994, 10, 20). But here something seems to have changed in the 1990s. The individual pupil is seen differently. While up to the late 1980s, there were constant references to the duties of the pupils who would later, as citizens, continue to develop themselves and society (e.g., CR 1981:34, 19; CR 1983:60, 5; CR 1983:62, 219), the allusions to the pupils as citizens with a task to improve their society disappear or receive a different formulation in the 90s. These individuals – whose "counselor of learning" the teacher is meant to be – are no more bound together by any special tasks or missions beyond their individual existence. This model pupil is characterized in documents of the 1990s as an active and ethical learner who constructs information, is tolerant and understands different cultures, has broad knowledge of foreign languages and is able to capitalize on information and communication technologies (see e.g., Ministry of Education 1991, 33-34; 1995, 6-7; 1996, 6-7). When trying to crystallize this shift in individualism, there were proposals to move from egalitarian individualism to competitive, atomistic clientele or customer individualism (see e.g., Koski & Nummenmaa 1995). What is essential here is that the pupil is regarded as an active, selecting and choosing individual and user of educational services.

Inscribing self-evaluation into the pupils and facing the top-down control afterwards

Grading and assessing the pupil were not problematized at all in official school discourse before the 1960s. The theme was not even mentioned in curricular or committee texts, even though all the decrees that established the tasks of teachers clearly prescribed that the teacher should "check and supervise the exercises, carry out the grading and prepare the report cards of pupils." This state of affairs is explained by the existence of the parallel school system which limited the selective function of the elementary school. It was only in 1960 that "the assessment of learning results and grading the pupils" was first mentioned as a content of pedagogy in teacher training (CR 1960, 77).

We see a dramatic change occurring in comprehensive school texts. Since the 1966 report, examinations became a constant and central element of the official school discourse. The 1966 report noted the problem that the traditional grading and assessing of pupils gave both quantitatively and qualitatively limited knowledge about the progress of pupils in their studies. To keep astride of employers and educational institutions, it was believed that pupils, parents, and teachers needed comprehensive and individual assessment during school years and objective and comparable grading in the leaving certificate. For this latter purpose, verbal reports of results from the formal and standardized tests were proposed. These two main techniques of examination – grading by marks and assessment by words – have appeared ever since as the basis for two central functions of schooling: written grades for selection of pupils and verbal assessment to inscribe self-selection. Educational science was thus seen as legitimating a profound intervention into the personality of the pupil and as offering the tools for it at the same time.

The 1985 curriculum constituted a break in the tradition according to which "the assessment carried out by the teacher would be focused on the performance and certain concrete behavior of the pupil but not on his/her personality as a whole" (Curr 1970: A 4, 52). Since 1985, in addition to the criteria of knowledge and skills, "the achievement of general educational goals that are notable for the whole development of the pupil" would also be taken into account in grading school subjects (Curr 1985, 30). Examples of such criteria were mentioned, including for example "active participation," "ability and willingness to co-operate", "the positive attitude and willingness of the pupil to act according to the educational goals" (ibid., 31). Tests and examinations are presented in 1985 above all as a service to the pupil while "giving a realist picture of his/her possibilities, for example, in continuing studies" (ibid., 29—30).

This emphasis on the exam as an objective and comparable, comprehensive and individual source of pupils' self-selection culminates in the 1994 curriculum, when there was a qualitative change that could be characterized as a shift from egalitarian individualism to competitive (or market) individualism (Sulkunen, 1992; Koski & Nummenmaa 1995). The curriculum explicitly manifested a turn toward values that "promote the strengthening individualism" (Curr 1994, 10):

> "Each student is an individual whose world of experiences forms different starting points for learning new things. The means of direct learning depend on this individual history of experiences. In the making of the curriculum, this means facilitation of individual study plans on the basis of talents, interests, and learning difficulties" (Curr 1994, 11).

It is no wonder then that the main justification for all the development, systematization, and intensification of evaluation was presented as being entirely in service to the pupil him/herself.

> "The evaluation should promote the development of sound self-esteem in the student as well as a formation of realistic awareness of his [*sic*] own knowledge and skills and of the importance of continuous studies. His self-esteem is reinforced and his awareness of himself, his own aims and possibilities are emphasized when his freedom of choice and the flexibility in the school system are increased. The feedback in the form of evaluation in school that the student gets directs his interests and efforts. (...) The task of evaluation is to encourage the student - in the positive way - to set his own aims, to plan his work and to make independent choices. (...) Student evaluation and other evaluation are based on the aims of the curriculum. What is important is that the evaluation centers on the individual and takes into consideration his developmental stage and abilities" (Curr 1994, 29-30).

Emphasis on verbal evaluation and the process of learning fitted well with the individual-centered ethos of the 1994 curriculum. According to the text,

> "[v]erbal evaluation gives to the individual student a meaningful wealth of evaluation information which supports him in his studies. (...) More and more attention in this feedback should be paid to the process of learning" (Curr 1994, 28).

The importance of evaluation was manifested in speaking about the importance of reviewing, improving, and developing the "school's evaluation system" as an essential part of both curriculum and school practices (Curr 1994, 30). A novelty in the assessment of conduct and neatness was that they would be reported as one mark. This mark for behavior would not be included in the Graduation Diploma, it was claimed, but the 1994 curriculum added an important sentence: "unless the parents so request" (Curr 1994, 32). "Self-evaluation", "group evaluation" and "evaluation discussion" were introduced as new techniques of examination (Curr 1994, 29).

Justification for evaluation now comes almost entirely from the individual pupil, while numerical grading could be complemented by a verbal assessment in all reports. If the emphasis was clearly on verbal rather than numerical assessment and on the process rather than an evaluation of the learning result, both of these dimensions were nevertheless there. The 1994 curriculum stated clearly that evaluation also had selective functions:

> "The evaluation information serves an important purpose outside the school. The student's guardians, other institutes of learning and working life need information on the student as decisions, which are important for his future, are made. (...) The use of evaluation in making individual choices, among other things, requires reliable and fair evaluation of learning. In life, the student is faced with situations where knowledge and skills are compared with those of others and he is placed in order on the basis of the evaluation the school gives him" (Curr 1994, 29).

It is fair to conclude that the model citizen, the aim of the new comprehensive school, was characterized as a competitive individual with sound self-esteem and the ability to make active choices. The "evaluation system" was seen as essential in realizing this aim and therefore more ambitious than ever: it must be both comprehensive and individual, both objective and comparative. Besides fulfilling its selective and sorting function, the whole evaluation system of the school should guide pupils through their continuing and varying self-evaluation, not only by themselves but also together with their teacher, parents, and even other pupils. Thus, one may see here the transition from the old idea of the limited and partial, external and formal school examination that guaranteed citizenship to the individual and the profound, exact, and multifaceted comprehensive school examination system that works for objective selection but, more and more, infuses self-selection into the pupil, too.

What about the other dimension of relations that frame teachers' work: that one between teacher and administration? One may conclude that, up to the 1990s, the basic mechanisms justified and legitimated in the state educational discourse on teacher control have been of three kinds:

First, there has been a form of probation years (*koevuodet*) for teachers and only after these years were teachers to receive tenure for their posts. This system was abolished only via the 1984 legislation for the comprehensive school. The change can be seen in relation to the change mentioned above, the shift from model citizen to the "goal-believer" as the main quality of the model teacher. It is notable that it was not until 1991 that the statements of how the teacher had to be well-behaved and possess a healthy body disappeared at long last from the legislative texts. Only then was the teacher allowed to be like other civil servants, without any special demands in education legislation. Therefore there is no longer any need for special controls of this aspect of the teaching profession.

Second, there have been institutions for control such as the school inspectorate and the school board. The comprehensive school reform transferred the tasks of these bodies to the municipal authorities during the 1970s. Today there are no real tasks for the existing school boards, in spite of the rhetoric of devolution in Finland. On the municipal level, however, the local authorities are able to give the school boards important roles. For example in Helsinki, it is the school boards that virtually elect the staff for the school, which means giving the essential power back to the school level, in a similar fashion as before the comprehensive school reform.

Third, historically there have been three main instruments of control regarding teachers' work in the classroom: the subjects of each lesson during the week must be written in the timetable; the contents taught during the lesson must be mentioned in the class daybook; and the proceedings in the classes were effectively governed by the textbooks to be examined and confirmed by the NBE (though it was not compulsory to follow textbooks). All these historical techniques of control disappeared in the early 1990s: no more timetables, daybooks, or textbook controls.

Therefore we may conclude that all the traditional means of controlling teachers' work seem, in one form or another, to have disappeared, at least during the early 1990s. Only the role of the school board has been actualized in some districts and that, indeed, could be seen one of the consequences of the devolution or decentralization discourse. In Finland, however, the power of the parents has been left very unused, at least since the comprehensive school reform. To be sure, it will increase in the future, but there is not yet much evidence of that.

At least three new formations could be seen replacing the traditional means of control of teachers' work. First, there is an increasing role of the head teacher that has been evident from the 1970s on. What is curious here is the nearly complete absence of this fact in the state educational discourse that we have analyzed here. This change seems to have been manifested through documents of lower status. Secondly, the curriculum has become a more and more important means of controlling teachers' work. In the 1989 committee report, the teacher was finally brought out of the classroom. By this we mean that the duties of the teacher are no longer limited mainly to interaction with pupils. The teacher must participate in the development work of the school and not only his/her work in the classroom. The report emphasizes themes like "the parties of the school community," "human relations and problems in the school community," "the teacher as a member of the school community," "the development of the school community," and "the parents as a part of the school community" (CR 1989: 26).

In the legislative texts, the same tendency can be seen. The tasks of the teacher have been crystallized as: first; pursuing the goals, second; participating in the development of the school and third; following the curriculum and the work plan (SA 171/91, §59). Finally, a completely new means of control is derived from the goals and their relation to evaluation and assessment. Here we see crystallizing all the shifts from norm steering to goal steering, from centralized input control to centralized output control, etc. There are various dimensions to be analyzed here. On the one hand, we may speak about the continuity of the increasing importance of goals after the comprehensive school reform of the 1970s. As mentioned above, goal consciousness was defined as the main quality of the model teacher of the 1990s. As evidence of this continuity, it was the 1994 curriculum that formally and finally realized the dream of the individually stated goals proposed by the 1970 curriculum. On the other hand, we may also speak of the important shift from controlling the teaching of the teacher to controlling the learning of the pupils, even the learning of each and every individual pupil.

Narratives before and after the tide break of the 1980's

For the period of the last thirty years, the Finnish state educational discourse can be divided into two narratives. Although we have lived through a 30-year period of comprehensive school and there have been similar "comprehensive" features throughout the period, there have also been clear changes in narrative and quite a clean breaking point in the middle of 1980s. The first narrative presents the introduction of the comprehensive school within the rising Finnish welfare state. The second presents the narrative of stepping down from the culmination of the welfare state, i.e., the narrative of decentralization, deregulation, marketization, and the rise of evaluation and choice (see Figure 1 as a summary).

In the beginning of the comprehensive school, the great story of progress included the strive to raise the level of education in accordance with the structural changes in society, to contribute to the nation's economy. But an equally important argument was to offer equal education opportunities to all children regardless of their place of residence, wealth, or the status of their families, mother tongue, or gender. In the wildest of the "Social Democratic" dreams, there was almost the belief that a whole age cohort, when integrated in the comprehensive school for nine years, would not only be able to enter educational institutions equally, but also to learn the same core-syllabus and the same know-how and to leave the comprehensive school with practically the same qualifications. Another myth was that it was possible to accomplish the goals of the comprehensive school through central management and detailed steering.

By the end of 1980s, the omnipotence of central management came to an end. It was replaced by the myth of managerialism and market orientation: management's better efficiency and production of services, that takes into account citizens' needs by decentralizing authority to local management and schools (CR 1996: 4, 23). There was an aspiration to increase the quality of education by "increasing flexibility and choice" (Ministry of Education 1991, 11). The documents of education policy in the 1990s repeated time and time again a belief in progress, the "development of education." The principal myth of the last decade of 20th century was the myth of evaluation as a tool to develop quality in education (Ministry of Education 1995, 8; CR 1996, 55, 82-85, 106-107). While it was believed earlier that the goals of education could be achieved through strict norm steering, in 1990s it was believed that goals could be achieved by setting national core-goals only and by evaluating the achievements through results afterwards, and by forcing the educational institutions to compete with one another for the best results.

The discourse of the relationship between education and individuals has changed in 1990s in the opposite direction, compared to the long, previous period. From the end of the 1960s to the end of the 1980s, it was believed that education produces citizens who are thus equipped to develop society (CR 1970: 4, 22; CR 1981: 34, 19; CR 1983a: 60, 5; CR 1983b: 62, 219). In the 1990s, the discourse of education has changed to be the "production of services that takes into account the needs of every individual" (CR 1996: 4, 23, 55). To conclude, in today's rhetoric, education is regarded as something that serves the individual whereas earlier, individuals were educated as citizens to serve society.

Table 2:1: The narratives of the Finnish education policy discourse

	Narrative of Building up the comprehensive school (1960s-1980s)	*Narrative of transformation to market-orientation (1980s-1999s)*
Education gover-nance and social inclusion/exclusion	*The former parallel school system excluded a part of an age group from an equal educational opportunity by means of "dead ends" at the age of ten. Now, everyone was integrated into public comprehensive school for nine years, until the age of fifteen. Teaching was at first differentiated by ability grouping in foreign languages and science. *A student place was also guaranteed in post-compulsory education to whole age class. The whole educational system was made more regionally attainable.	*Ability grouping was abolished because it was regarded as excluding children from low-income families, and boys, from equal educational opportunities. *Authority was decentralized to local education actors. *All handicapped and immigrant children were integrated by law into the compulsory education system. *Attention was given especially to talented and weakly motivated pupils. There was emphasis on preventive actions for youth at risk and to avoid exclusion. *Efforts are made to develop and guarantee the quality of education services and their national comparability through the evaluation of all levels of the governance.
Habitus	*Pupils were no longer classified and selected according to talent into either theoretical or practical tracks. Pupils were classified according to ability, aptitude, and home environment. *The model citizen is regarded as a responsible citizen who improves his-/herself and the society continuously and who has a readiness for international cooperation, solidarity and peace. *Students participate in decision-making in the name of "school-democracy," as do parents in school boards. *The main qualities of the teaching profession are goal-consciousness, which forms an "in-advance basis" for teachers' work but also for control, and individualism that accentuates pupils as egalitarian individual-citizens. *An assessment and evaluation on the part of the teacher is to help and direct the pupil and his/her parents towards development.	*Pupils are classified differently according to their own level of development. *The model citizen is a model individual and is regarded as an active learner who constructs his/her knowledge, has a wide knowledge of foreign languages and cultures, and uses information and communication technologies. *The parents and the pupils are regarded as users and customers of services, making active rational choices. *The main qualities of the teaching profession are goal-consciousness that creates a basis for evaluation and control after the fact, and individualism that emphasizes the difference between pupils' talents, learning histories, and motivation. *Assessment and evaluation must be objective and selective, in addition to being comprehensive and helping the pupil and his/her parents. The emphasis is on guiding the pupils to self-evaluation.

	NARRATIVE OF BUILDING UP THE COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL (1960s-1980s)	NARRATIVE OF TRANSFORMATION TO MARKET-ORIENTATION (1980s-1999s)
Images, myths, sagas and stories of progress	*Structural changes in society have led to the education society. The belief in strengthening the country's economy and production through expanding education is strong. *The belief in all pupils' ability to learn the same core-syllabus and know-how strengthens the saga of raising the level of education. *The belief in achieving the goals of the comprehensive school by the omnipotence of strict and centralized governance highlights the authority of central state power. *The image of omnipotence of continuing education emerges. *The purpose of education was to educate citizens to serve the society.	*The belief in progress to continuously improve the quality of education by the means of massive evaluation. *The belief to increase the quality of education by increasing flexibility and choice. *The myth that decentralized and locally market-oriented authority and steering is more efficient and economic and produces better services. The belief that educational organization is best understood at the local level. *Life-long learning is strengthened as a principle of education. *The saga that education is for the individual and that service-production should primarily take the individual's needs into consideration.

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3. Germany

Edwin Keiner, Sandra Muskat, Rita Stolbinger & Kathrin Tietze:

Discourses on Education Governance and/or Social Exclusion and Inclusion in Political Parties in Germany*

It is difficult to identify only a few core texts that could be used to reconstruct the programmatic mainstream of the debates on school development, education governance and its relationship to social exclusion and inclusion in Germany. This is due to the federal system -questions of education are the matter of the 'Länder' - that differentiates the seemingly common public ideas on school development from a broad variety of competing concepts and particular provisions. The German unification extended this variety although the traditional school system in Western Germany kept its strong persistence against the former socialistic school system in Eastern Germany. In the process of managing the German unification policy the primary purpose was to establish political values, economic growth and constitutional/law certainty.

In the interests of keeping and improving the German position compared to other EU or OECD countries, educational issues have been emphasized and led to a broader public debate since the mid 90s. Therefore, the debates on school development are a very recent phenomenon in Germany. The year 1998 saw a new interest in educational political topics as evidenced by a core of the German Parliament. The debates and intentions of educational reform were mainly aims at the sphere of universities as well as at the upper secondary level. The social political meaning of the educational system was of less importance. The expectations of participating in the European and international competition by changing the structures and raising the effectiveness and achievements without the need to significantly raise the financial investments in education carried more weight. Against educational policy like this – mainly supported by the former government (CDU/CSU, FDP) - the opposition parties, especially the SPD,

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Alliance90/The Greens, PDS, brought back a social political dimension in their election campaigns. Most of all the Social Democrats, to their best advantage, also showed their classical topics of social justice and equality of opportunities in the context of educational reforms against the focus of the government that was mainly concerned with economic, domestic, political and security issues. Against this background they also stressed the need for reformed structures that raise achievement. The hope of a changed government was fulfilled. The Social-Democrats took over and formed the present government in coalition with the Alliance90/The Greens.

The vote of the regional parliament of Hessen in February 1999 showed both the new importance of educational political topics and the functioning of the federal system. The political constellations in the state of Hessen had been the opposite of the ones existing in the Confederacy. The Social-Democrats and the Greens governed Hessen for a long time. The vote now lead to a government coalition of the CDU and the FDP. In the election campaigns the Conservatives and the Liberals took up educational political topics that originated, in part, from the Social-Democratic programs. They demanded an adequate amount of instruction, a n increase in school achievement and an equal chance for participation in education. This action pressured the governing parties to comply.

Looking only at the slogans of the parties in such election campaign debates, one could almost come to the conclusion that the educational political positions are not so much founded in a general political program but are dependent on what political position - government or opposition - taken by each respective party. A closer look shows there are significantly different educational political positions behind the election campaign tactic slogans. These positions form the basis for debating the different concepts of education governance, of social exclusion and inclusion and their relationship to one another characterize the discursive field of politics. One can find core terms introduced by nearly all political parties, and in the public press, that function as a kind of metaphors commonly used but full of highly different meanings. This supports the assumption that these topics provide common meanings but cover the underlying struggle for the political power by defining the educational system of the future between pedagogical, welfare-oriented positions on the one hand and neo-conservative and neo-liberal orientations in policy, economy and - in some respects - in educational administration on the other.

This perspective and the difficulties of selecting a few core texts - considering the federal structure of the educational system - led us to primarily use programs and visions of the political parties in Germany as sources for our analysis.[*] They represent the broad variety of narratives and concepts dealing with education governance and social exclusion and inclusion as well as the ambivalence of these concepts considering the fact that different parties are politically responsible for the educational reality in different federal states. The use of programs of political parties as texts can be interpreted as equivalent to historical analyses. Instead of *vertically* comparing time relationships of debates on particular subjects we *horizontally* compare subject relationships of particular political positions based on historically persistent profiles of parties as political organizations.

A first impression of the range and variety of basic concepts of educational issues is given by leading words used to define – such as edge-words or semantic knots – the discursive room in which the argumentation is carried out.

Looking at these leading words there are four noticeable facts:

The smaller parties on the right and left wing of the political spectrum do not have their own group of leading words that explicitly define the educational and educational political topics. They only sketch general social political programs between socialism/communism on the one hand and national state/nationalism on the other hand.

All larger parties that are members of Parliament explicitly take up educational political topics and refer to the German constitution. However, it is the SPD in particular, but to a lesser extent the PDS, whose leading words can be differentiated from the other parties. They reflect the welfare state egalitarian and social political integrative frame in which topics of school development, equality of opportunities and evaluation take place.

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[*] For the analysis we considered the established parties represented in the German Parliament (CDU, FDP, SPD, Alliance90/The Greens, PDS) as well as smaller parties that participated in the vote but only had small opportunities to gain seats in the Parliament. These are parties that are positioned in the left (DKP) and right (REP, DVU, NPD) wing of the political spectrum. As a second source we took several newspapers to mark out the discursive field of the public educational political debates. Due to the heterogeneity of the selected articles with regard to form, content, regional selectivity, occasion of the respective reports etc. we abstain from summarising the results here. The findings are presented and discussed in a more extensive paper about Discourses on Education Governance and/or Social Exclusion and Inclusion in Political Parties and Public Press in Germany' that also contains a more detailed analysis of the political parties' programs. This paper also contains the list of sources we are referring to in this summary report.

The other parties put educational policy, with its respective different focus, in the context of competition, flexibility and self-steering.

Table 3:1: Political parties and leading words in education.

Party	*Leading words (English)*
CDU	Efficiency, humane principle of efficiency, competition, justice of opportunities, strong/weak efficiency, equality, integration, tightening, shortening, examination, autonomy (university), security, free educational institutions, business location Germany, future, freedom, responsibility
FDP	Freedom (of education), educational offensive, principle of efficiency, competition, job-market, equal opportunities to start, shortening of school- and study-times, self-administration, lifelong learning, education vouchers, sponsoring of education, autonomy of the universities, autonomy of personnel and finance, internal and external evaluation, globalization, business location Germany
SPD	Social security, social justice, autonomy of the schools, equality of opportunities, equality, school development, school supervision, self-evaluation, education vouchers, job-market, future, opportunities, innovation, solidarity
Alliance 90/ The Greens	Lifelong learning, internal/external evaluation, self-responsibility, transparency, self-control, flexibility, keeping with the times, humane, quality-development, securing, improvement control, Social-Democratic, ecological, of age, equalization, autonomous school, equality of opportunities, variety, fair society, educational reform, expansion, integration
PDS	Democratizing, school development, equality of opportunities, distribution of means
DKP	Socialism, communism, struggle of class, workers class, peace, social justice, equality of opportunities, freedom, self-determination, solidarity, internationalism, responsibility for the future
REP	Welfare state, employment policy, criminality of foreigners, home, tradition care, mass immigration, too much foreign things
NPD	National state, national solidarity and identity, social reordering, freedom of the peoples, German nation substance, foreign rule
DVU	Courage, responsibility, spirit of democracy, agreement between nations, love of home, love of the German nation, German identity, preservation, home country, full self-determination, stream of foreigners, misuse of asylum, home country

These different foci depend on the general political emphasis of the respective parties. The CDU sets educational political leading words into a context of efficiency justice and social responsibility.[*] The FDP puts everything into dynamics and tightens the educational system by competition and control with significant economic and business-political emphasis. The Alliance 90/The Greens also show their interest in more flexibility and dynamics and in an increase of efficiency of the educational system in their leading words. However, their emphasis is the tying social/political/integrative perspectives to perspectives of the pluralization by systemic ecological self-steering. They prefer a kind of thinking in complex relationships and networks. Therefore they present different and complex analyses of the status quo, while at the same time, they look at the political concepts, inconsistencies, ambivalencies and vagueness.

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[*] The **CDU** obviously tries to avoid a special vocabulary and to replace it with self-invented-words. That is why the words "equality of opportunities" can not be found in the work of the CDU, it is replaced by "justice of opportunities". Private schools are

Finally, against this background leading words of the larger parties also focus on social exclusion/inclusion as well as on education governance. They make equality of opportunities, as well as different concepts of school development, one of their important topics – from autonomy and evaluation to privatizing of the schools.

Images, Myths, Sagas and Stories of Progress

Educational Policy within the Context of Political Programmatics

Only the two large national parties, CDU and SPD, place educational policy – with different content and weight – into the center of their general political ideas and present rounded and differentiated educational political concepts. Relatively close to the question of educational policy is the FDP. The other parties clearly subordinate educational policy to economical, ecological or nationalistic perspectives.

Educational policy is most important in the CDU. This party sees a world of opportunities in the world of change that Germany should use. The competitiveness of the business location Germany should be strengthened to create more jobs. In this context educational reform in this context serves the society that is able to cope with the future. The CDU thinks that top performances can only be reached by the best education and research that creates a strong and dynamic business community. This is the reason why there needs to be only the best schools, universities and job-training for the youth. These location and efficiency-based arguments are the prelude to their program. Internal security and social political issues are also important considerations.

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called "free educational institutions" and the word "performance-principle" is in its social disintegrative connotation reduced by the Adjective "humane".

With the slogan "Education creates jobs" the FDP clearly shows that an open educational perspective is strongly connected with the labor market. Such a strong connection between education and business development again secures the location Germany. The creation of jobs is at the center of the political program directly followed by an invitation for an educational offensive, where issues like social policy and ecology come in to play.

The SPD sees educational policy as a social challenge and gives it a fundamental first place. "Innovation, education and new technologies – that is the Social-Democratic answer to the challenge of the 21st century." Educational policy is not only a part of social policy but also a main support of democracy and is a human right or a basic right of everybody.

The Alliance90/The Greens clearly puts conservation and nature in first place in their political program, followed by financial, social and women's' policies. Educational policy moves to last place. However one can see from their argument that they view educational policy as a "bottom-pillar of a just society that is able to cope with future." Education and science play a key role in solving global problems.

For the PDS, balancing the economic and financial issues has highest priority. An offensive educational and research policy gives the prerequisites for such a balancing and for the creation of jobs.

The DKP wants to abolish the capitalistic business and social system and enforce their ideas of socialism. That is supposed to lead to a classless society. All other issues move into the background of this total goal derived from this premise, the same with educational policy whose primary importance is the propagation of socialistic ideals.

The REP sees education as an elementary prerequisite for a successful future design. Educational policy clearly moves back behind the populist and nationalist issues, e.g. threatening globalization of business, European policy, internal security, foreigners and the policy of asylum.

The educational issues from the NPD or the DVU are similar. The NPD attaches more importance to a nationalist concept of the "German nation", and the securing the "German national substance" than to a reasonable educational policy. Instead of developing educational political ideas, e.g. on equal opportunities, the nationalistic DVU flatly demands "equal rights for Germany."

Education as Fundamental Political and Lawful Principle

Although the single parties take different positions on educational political problems, concepts and proposals to reform the educational system, there is a surprising unity and agreement in their basic position. A central element of the construction of educational political arguments of the established parties is the derivation or justification of education as fundamental political and lawful principle. With regard to the established parties, the human and civil rights and the constitution of the Federal Republic are a universal point of reference. That means that the questions of equality of opportunities referring to a reform of the present school system and concepts of citizenship are derived more from constitution and law than self-reliant legitimization through particular options for general values. "Education and *Bildung* aim to say yes to the democratic and social constitutional state and the order of value that is fixed in the constitution" (CDU). "The civil right of education offers the same opportunity for education and training to everybody" (FDP). "We see education in the tradition of enlightenment, of humanism. Education should be acquired in the spirit of human rights" (Alliance 90/The Greens). "The human right of education is supposed to make possible the individual development of personality according to age, the discovery of one's own personality and the social standing for all" (PDS).

The smaller parties on the left and right wing of the political spectrum do not take such justifications as a basis for education concepts. They forgo explicit justifications or tie them to their more general socialistic or nationalistic ideologies.

Education and Social Change

Another element of educational political basic construction is the relationship between education and social change. In the established parties there exists the unanimous opinion that the German, European and world societies are in a basic change and so the educational policy needs to change, too. Clear differences exist in terms of which factors mark these changes and how to react to them.

The CDU refers particularly to issues of national and international policy, to "the winning back of the German Union, the completion of the European home market and the radical change in Middle, East and Southeast Europe". The FDP focuses on the liberalization of culture and the globalization of knowledge and economy.

> "There has never been so many things happening. Vast changes in our culture, especially in the relationship between education and work, leisure and family, work and age, state and society are already obvious. Globalization as the character of change transcends national boundaries by internationalizing knowledge and economy".

The SPD emphasizes work and social conditions. "The society of work is in rapid change, the structure of the population has changing and modern models of life and value orientation are giving our society a new character." Nevertheless the SPD confirms its traditional conviction: "Our primary idea is education for everybody." The PDS comprehends the changes more dramatically.

> "The development of society in this Federal Republic is at a decisive point. Technical and ecological, economic and social, intellectual-cultural and political challenges from present and future need new ideas and actions".

It is only the Alliance 90/The Greens that complements these pictures of change with a critical perspective of the present society.

> "The way out of minority oppression and out of the on-going destruction of the natural foundations of life is inconceivable without education that is acquired by free people".

For the smaller parties - no matter what direction - social change is also a central topic in their argument. However, they do not connect the related reform and tax options with educational policy.

Business, Job Market and Education

The need for change in the educational system is not only needed in view of the general process of social change, but also in the close connection between business, job market and education.

In this context the CDU defines education and training as equal foundations for efficiency of the state, business and society. According to the *humane principle of efficiency,* school is marked as a *humane school of efficiency.* In this context the CDU does not talk about equality of opportunities but about justice of opportunities. Job training is connected to a professional qualifying and economic need. In the international competition of innovation and technology, only those who have a higher education will survive.

Similar arguments are used by the FDP. "Knowledge is our most important commodity. Education is a most important investment (...) Education and training determine the success of the future job market", which is driven by new technology. Education is seen as an instrument to prevent becoming a "loser in the information society and a problem in the job market". Therefore "school training has to depict business connections as a decisive principle of our democratic society".

In this economic context, the question of low public budgets becomes a matter of debate. The CDU sees a need to examine educational budgets in view of the economic situation of Germany.

> "The economic efficiency of the BRD is limited. The German reunion, obligations in Europe and in the world, put a burden on public budgets. Funding the educational system is a costly challenge for the country. Fiscal compulsions, like economic reason, make it necessary to use the funds in the schools and higher educational institutions as efficiently and economically as possible".

Similarly the Alliance 90/The Greens open their consideration of education and school with a detailed description and complaint of the paucity of public budgets.

> "The phase of expanding personnel budgets and rising expenditures seems to be over for the foreseeable future. So the era of Social-Democratic-inspired educational reform, that mainly defined itself through growth, is definitely over."

The dramatic financial crisis restricts the scope of reforms and calls for increased efficiency, savings and a reduction in personnel.

School Development and Education Governance

According to the different stories told about the relationship between social change and education, different concepts of school development are used to support the processes of transformation. According to the CDU, the existing *differentiated* federal school system is best and most able to react to these changes; it votes for the keeping the traditional definition powers. Therefore the CDU is skeptical of the concept of school autonomy.[*] Consequently it pursues a state unity of the educational system:

> "Neither the special responsibility of the states in the area of schools and higher education nor the competencies of the country and the state united validate the job training rules which are to be discussed by the Union."

The CDU therefore votes for the homogenization of the school structures as a precondition for competition as well as for the adjustment and comparability of the graduates. From this perspective the CDU stresses the special significance of regular evaluations. These evaluations also focus on improving the effectiveness and efficiency of the school system. This perspective not only aims to optimize strategies uses inside the traditional school system, but also to abolish ineffective school types (implicitly: of the comprehensive school).

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[*] The CDU uses the word "autonomy" explicitly only in view of the area of universities and other higher learning institutions where it is supposed to increase the efficiency.

> "Not only are time-tables, class attendance, teaching obligations and relief lessons to be discussed, but school types that are no longer efficient or do not reach the efficiency of the differentiated system, in spite of increased expenditures, are not financially justifiable in view of taxpayers and justice in our society".

In contrast to this more conservative, narrowing position, the FDP wants to react to the social change by creating open, more flexible and autonomous educational institutions. "Schools and institutions of higher education should be free to govern their own financial and personnel matters as well as contents and concepts of their decisions."

In the area of higher and continuous education the FDP's ideas of autonomy are broader and more concrete than in the area of schools. However, in competition such a largely autonomous school counts only as one qualifying unit. Of equal importance are training and continuing education as well as adult education, based on the concept of lifelong learning and closeness to the business market. The FDP demands more financing for an educational offensive. A central justification is the investment in new technologies in the schools. The financing should take place by privatizing the former state responsibilities. In this context the vote of the FDP for an increased sponsorship of the schools and the increased promotion of private schools, also of universities, needs to be mentioned.

For the SPD, the strengthening of education is strongly connected to school autonomy.

> "Regarding the autonomy of schools, we think that schools need more autonomy of organization, more self-responsibility and more self-direction to become the type of schools society needs".

On one hand, however, unlike the FDP, the SPD connects it with the borders of autonomy that expresses itself as a social-political challenge to provide equality of opportunities. These borders are defined by the state and the constitution. If the schools receive autonomy of organization within these borders, the members need to have the competence to prove the effectiveness of the steps and achievements. In this context the self-evaluation of the school has great importance relative to the concept of an organizationally autonomous school. This is measured not only via test achievements but also by the pedagogical work of and the atmosphere in the schools. On the other hand, when referring to the relationship of education to the job market, the arguments of the SPD are similar to those of the FDP. Its more economical political perspective on education revolves around jobs, competition and new technologies that contribute to secure the "location Germany". The educational system is not excluded from global competition: "We want business competition. We also want a competition based on achievement as the best educational system in the world". The concept of strengthening of education is part of the program as are strong business, offensive usage of new technologies or strengthening of business investments. The ambivalence of this twofold perspective becomes clear when looking at school financing. The SPD prefers a central/decentral balanced concept of financing the schools including the possibility of private sponsorship. This concept leads to the problem of equality of opportunities for the schools.

> "It is to be expected that the schools with wealthy parent-houses have a greater means for donations and sponsorships and are able to make a qualitatively better offer".

The SPD does not, in principle, vote against sponsorship but sees it as an important task of the school sponsors to make a fair socially and politically responsible balance of finances. To support the social-state-egalitarian equality of opportunities and simultaneously admit private-economic competition-oriented partial financing by donations and sponsorships, the SPD tends toward a social-political budgeted solution to at least soften the financial inequality. To balance the disadvantages, the SDP wants to introduce social indicators for the distribution of funds that result in a different financing of the respective schools. Consequently the schools and students do not have the same opportunities, but there are, according to the SPD, "comparable opportunities for all schools".

Like the SPD, the Alliance 90/The Greens demands a stronger autonomy of organization of the schools specifically referring to the problem of equality of opportunities. Their point of view, however, is a bit different than that of the SPD. They do not see the state primarily as the institution that should structure and limit the autonomy of the schools, whether or not it is legitimate and constitutionally correct. So with the granting of the autonomy of organization they in reverse, want the burden of proof for achievement and legitimacy to lie with the state.

> "The state remains responsible, the state demands and grants the minimum of quality in educational work (...) The state secures quality through intervention when schools break contracts and agreements, when they break constitutional rules or (...) when schools have significantly lower achievement".

The states are supposed to maintain responsibility only for the framework; "the schools should have freedom of pedagogical realization that is as much as possible". In this context the evaluation gains a particular importance – the legitimization toward the democratic public. The efficiency of the different pedagogical school programs developed by the schools themselves, should be proven at regular intervals by internal as well as external evaluations. This view on autonomy and efficiency is directly related to financial savings. The Alliance 90/The Greens say that qualitative reforms are needed, but they need to be realized by a financially supported, more intensive commitment and not by greater personnel expenditures.

> "All qualitative changes will need to be realized by a close examination of current resources and by a more effective use of them. (…) The states' budgets that get crushed by high personnel costs, will see a reduction of personnel in the coming years. That is why there is a need to develop concepts in the educational system that make it possible to realize reforms with money not by cutting jobs."

In this context the Alliance 90/The Greens plead for less bureaucracy, for deregulation, and self-direction, but as a consequence also for a short-term *running out of means* instead of a long-term financial bond of the public budgets to personnel costs. They think that

> "The complex school system can not simply be reformed from the top, but reforms and adaptation processes need to be based on the self-direction processes in the schools themselves".

In this context they count on consciousness raising, insight and responsibility. Parallel to these idealistic and romantic ideas, the Alliance 90/The Greens point to the necessary increase in efficiency and controlled spending as well as a necessity to not shrink from taboos, e.g. "converting jobs into money, getting parents, clubs, students, pensioned teaching staff into the schools".

The ambivalence between state-steering and quasi natural, autonomous self-organization of the educational system leads the Alliance 90/The Greens not only to questions of education governance but also to the problem of the limited possibilities of social changes via education. They state that

> "schools are not able to and should not be required to pay compensation for inequalities (...). Neither the educational system nor the individual schools are able to compensate for or end socially caused victimization, poverty and unemployment".

The Alliance 90/The Greens are against 'pedagogization', making social problems pedagogical, and plead for a "prudent view" of the social role of school: "Socially is an instrument of distribution of opportunities and authority and only, to a small degree, an instrument of balancing social inequality." In this view, however, the 'prudent view' marks the limits of the educational policy of the Alliance 90/The Greens when replacing the educational political program with a social science analysis, a utopia with the acceptance of the status quo.

The PDS also demands a fundamental reform of the educational system. However, it talks less about autonomy and more about making education more democratic and providing equality of opportunities.

> "The education policy of the PDS is aimed at achieving an extensive democratization of the goals, contents of education and methods of learning as well as of the structures of the educational system, the administration and supervision of the state."

In this context it wants to defend the educational system against economization and submission to economical principles. Democracy and participation are key concepts. Specifically the PDS refers to the school reform concept of the seventies that failed in West Germany, and tries to connect the positive elements of the socialistic school concept of the former DDR (East Germany). The idea of the comprehensive school counts as a "leading idea for a new school concept". The solidification of the democratic participation theory of the PDS becomes obvious when considering questions of determination groups, and the school direction and governance. Here romantic imaginations and reform pedagogical concepts are unmistakable. "The responsible organization of school life by all participants is an important part in a democratic school." "Parent and student-boards as well as the teachers' conference have to be given more credence. The highest executive body at the school is the school conference comprised of elected representatives of the parents, students and the pedagogical and non-pedagogical personnel." The school authorities and the school supervisors are radically reduced to pure administrative functions and separated from the subject supervision. Supervision, then, is given to the "school chambers" as a kind of corporate organization of professional members. Against the background of these great expectations of democratic participation and public transparency it is obvious that evaluation is not a relevant topic to the PDS. Education is seen as the duty of the society, and securing equality of opportunities is generally to be guaranteed and financially granted by the respective state. Like the SPD, the PDS demands a financial balance of local or regional. specific inequalities. However, the PDS does not connect this balance – contrary to the SPD – with the different possibilities of private funding.

> "Sponsoring of schools should be excluded as antisocial and undemocratic as well as the appearance of schools in the business market to not tolerate the subduction of pedagogical claims to an economic principle".

Few of the smaller parties mention the topic of school autonomy. The same is true for financial issues. Whereas the DKP - referring to equal opportunities - definitely denies a private economic school sponsoring, the smaller parties on the right wing of the political spectrum obviously are more concerned about conservative and nationalistic ideologies than about school structures, education governance and the structure-building power of money.

Social Inclusion and Exclusion - Equality of Opportunities

General Positions

Equality of opportunities - which also means social possibilities of participation, of social exclusion and/or inclusion - is a central topic that has a wide range of importance in the individual parties. A general reference point for that is the constitution of the BRD (Article 3, Paragraph 1) most of the parties are referring to. Looking at the variety of the political positions of the referenced parties one can - very traditionally - distinguish between options for start opportunities and options for goal opportunities. Conservatives, neo-liberals and right-handed parties prefer the principle of start opportunities, that stress the arguments of individual achievements or variety, the different results. The Social-Democratic and socialistic parties prefer following the principle of equal life standards and the principle of goal opportunities. Both perspectives are called "equality of opportunities" with a fine distinction in the CDU that says justice of opportunities.

On the basis of the "equality of all human beings and their dignity and freedom given to them by God" the CDU argues that law protects from arbitrariness and misuse of power. It protects the weak and their freedom. This concept is important because it interprets unequal as fair and at the same time justifies the necessity of the social balance. "Justice of opportunities means (...) equality of start opportunities, but not equality of results. Under such ideas, to balance and seek individual freedom and social compensation, another central word gains importance for education: the humane principle of efficiency. "An educational system that is oriented to this princip lays the foundation for helping the weak and to increase achievements of the strong."

> "Principles of our educational policy are the principles of justice of opportunities and the humane principle of efficiency. Justice of opportunities demands consideration of the difference of human beings in their talents, achievements and their social background (...). The principle of efficiency demands that possibilities of achievement of the individual be required and demanded and that all receive appropriate acknowledgment".

Analogous to the humane principle of efficiency is the humane school of efficiency. That is the best foundation to ensure a maximum of just opportunities and, as much as possible, promote the individual according to his/her talents and preferences." For the CDU the equality of start opportunities seems to be granted after graduation from elementary school. The change to the continuing schools is viewed as a balancing act between free parental choice and the assessment and selection function of the schools and their teachers. On one hand the parents should have the right to choose the continuing school, but on the other hand, in the case of a dissent, the right of the parents should be revoked by a school decision to achieve what is best for the child. Additionally, the CDU connects its plea for a relatively early school type decision with a clear refusal of soft changes in the middle school level as is intended by comprehensive school concepts.

> "Integrated comprehensive schools are not only costly, in no way do they reach higher achievement than the schools of the structured system. In fact, in most cases they are inferior to the schools of the structured system (...). With the task of completing graduations and authorizations they have to reach the same quality as the schools of the differentiated system".

Hence the CDU pleads for a central *Abitur* (A-level) in the name of "justice of equality".

The FDP leaves the words equality of opportunities in its program. Education plays a central role in the social picture of the FDP. Like the CDU, the FDP stresses the importance of variety and differences, and votes for the equality of start opportunities. The central importance of the public educational system exists in a mission to secure equality from the beginning. If these start opportunities are granted, there is nothing in the way of an efficient, efficiency and competition-based market-oriented organization of schools and education.

Against the background of her educational and social political orientation and tradition equality of opportunities is a central theme for the SPD. The egalitarian educational political ideas of the present SPD programs fundamentally distinguish themselves from the ones of the CDU or FDP. The SPD insists on the connection of equality of start opportunities and equality of goal opportunities. The goal is access to higher education and studies.

> "Education is the basis for development of the personality and for a self-determined life. Our main idea is: Education for everybody (...). Access to the university studies can not depend on the money of the parents".

In the area of school attendance it is the duty of the school supervisors "to secure equality of opportunities and to grant children of school age an equal educational offer from the state".

The Alliance 90/The Greens strongly connect the problem of equal opportunities with their ideas of the autonomous school. Their position is ambivalent - more problem explaining and balancing. First they want an educational system that offers equal start and goal opportunities through state-granted help and visible achievements. At the same time they refer to local and regional disparities and non-balanced issues that result from the autonomy of schools in view of equal opportunities to participate.

> "A greater autonomy of schools can not make schools in disadvantaged areas or districts, schools with students from poorer classes of population become the losers due to school autonomy".

However, they do not present a political solution to this problem, but point to the general assumption that schools cannot and should not pay for the inequalities" within the society.

In its program of equal opportunities the PDS stays largely legalistic and reproduces, extends and supports constitutional principles.

> "Access to education can neither be limited by gender, descent, language, origin, beliefs, religious or political views, nor by the economical and social position of the parents".

In a countermove it pleads for an "emancipated, anti-patriarchal and anti-racist youth and educational policy".

For the smaller parties on the left and right wing of the political spectrum equal opportunities related to educational questions are not an explicit issue.

The DKP stays on a broader, less specific level. The reference to justification is not the constitution but the socialistic society.

Right wing parties do not support comprehensive schools and the educational reforms of the 70s. They "intercede (...) for equal opportunities and against making equal", (DVU) favoring smaller and more regionalized schools close to the homeland. In view of vocational education and job-training for youth, the NPD demands job-training for everybody but, if connecting this statement with their general nationalistic ideologies, one easily can see that jobs should be reserved for German youth - equal opportunities by social exclusion.

Fringe groups

Crucial to proving these concepts of equality and equal opportunities are the positions of the political parties with regard to fringe groups in school. Already the distinction "talented" and "disabled" are based on categories that ascribe specific characteristics to children and adolescents.

Talented:

Behind the concept of the humane school of efficiency the CDU gives great importance to the promotion of the talented. It specifically stresses both the individual and social aspects of the talent to whose development the school needs to contribute. "Our community needs elites in all areas and on all levels". "In the future, strongly efficient children and adolescents need to be given the opportunity and their right to their own special achievements by a special promotion".

In view of the promotion of the talented, the FDP's position is similar to that of the CDU; the aspect of efficiency dominates. The FDP especially stresses the open efficiency-based entry and promotion opportunities in the work life.

Promoting of the talented is not a particular issue of the education policy of the SPD and Alliance 90/The Greens. However, the PDS explicitly comments on an egalitarian concept. They "want a developmental psychology-based promotion of the gradually developing talents. As we see it, promotion of the talented has nothing to do with elitism, a concession to economic privilege or to a development-damaging wrong ambition of some parents."

People with disabilities

The CDU supports the integration of people with disabilities and wants to improve their school life. A more individual perspective is prevalent. But the CDU does not go so far as to approve an integration of people with disabilities into the regular lessons. Its criteria are school achievement and graduation.

> "The principle of an integration of all children with disabilities in the regular school is to be rejected. Integration that exceeds the elementary school is sensible and reasonable if there are opportunities for the child to reach graduation of the respective type of school".

The FDP also asks for an unequivocal integration and promotion of people with disabilities, preferring a more liberal individualistic perspective.

> "Integration needs to be connected with a promotion that gives people with disabilities the opportunities to freely explore their talents, for them to be equal participants in social life and that they have the ability to contribute to the open society in their own special way".

The SPD also takes up the abolition of victimization of people with disabilities in its political program. In view of the structure of the educational system, the SPD is a little bit reserved. It tends to prefer an integration of students with disabilities into the regular lessons.

Definitely pro integration - into regular schools and regular lessons - are the Alliance90/The Greens.

> "We want all schools to become integrative schools and be equipped with special education competencies so that they can teach and educate children and teenagers with disabilities without singling them out".

The PDS justifies its position to promote people with disabilities by not only referring to the school system but also to the social environment. Educational policy has "the duty to promote the integration of children and teenagers in the joint play, learn and work communities." The PDS is skeptical of a general integration on principle. It thinks that individual examinations and decisions are more appropriate. That is also true for the integration of children with disabilities in the regular schools. The PDS strongly stresses the importance of early intervention and the consideration of the social environment.

Migrants and Foreigners

The problem of foreigners has been intensified during the recent election campaign initiative of the CDU against the introduction of second nationalities. Positions of integration and discrimination confront each other, strengthened and discussed primarily in a legalistic manner. From a general political perspective the CDU pleads for a limitation of foreigners moving to Germany as a way to strengthen integration and tolerance. The educational system has a basic role in the integration of foreigners. Thereby the idea of tolerance is supposed to be mediated to the German students.

The FDP prefers a control of immigration by a "legal rule of regulation and limitation of immigration"; for them, a special criterion is speaking the German language. The integration concept of the FDP refers to assimilation and to the strengthening of the German society's interests The resource of integrative assimilation is the German language.

The SPD also gives priority to the integration of foreigners as well as to a legal control and limitation of immigration in their programs. Their ideas are indeed more general, referring to legal questions, and less specific and concrete with regard to educational policy.

For the Alliance90/The Greens, integration of foreigners is an integral part of their educational policy. They see Germany as an immigration country and prefer the social and culturally defined term "migrant", not the legally defined term "foreigner." Integration does not necessarily mean assimilation. Particularly under the aspect of cultural variety and differences, personal rights and personal differences, cultures and languages are emphasized. Such a policy of inter- or multicultural education and cultural pluralism also has a special meaning for the European Community.

> "To create a united, peaceful Europe is a cultural task of schools and the education establishments as well. That is why we also want an opening of all schools towards Europe".

The PDS shares this opinion of Germany being an immigration country with the Alliance 90/The Greens. It talks about perspectives of an integrative educational policy, for which equal opportunities are a central point of reference. Anyway the position remains rather common.

> "Special alliances should be given to the development and integration of children of foreign parents and of members of ethnic or other minorities. Their cultural identity must be respected".

Radically opposite opinions are represented by smaller parties on the right side of the political spectrum. They plead against the integration of foreigners as well as for a drastic limit to immigration. Consequently they demand exclusion instead of inclusion: "Stop the abusing our schools by trying to establish a multicultural society" (REP). However, detailed educational political suggestions are not stated.

Gender

The positions with regard to equal opportunities of men and women are very similar in all political parties. Against the background of the constitution they plead for equal rights on principle, but there are little specific and concrete - and therefore little different - concepts regarding educational policy. The topic of equal opportunities for men and women in an educational context is often reduced to the particular question of co-education.

Education Governance and Social Inclusion and Exclusion

Despite the fact that the political parties have relatively clear positions either on education governance or on social inclusion and exclusion - as indicated by the question of equal opportunities - the relationship between these important issues is only slightly exposed.

All parties stress the need for equal opportunities. Reforms of the educational system, school development or school steering and education governance are joint issues of all larger parties. In different argumentative styles, they all base their positions on the fact that education is strongly connected with the constitution, the job market and, consequently with economic development. However the connection of education governance and equal opportunities or social exclusion and/or inclusion is left out by the Conservatives and Liberals as well as others; in recourse to individual rights of freedom and concepts of talent competition and efficiency. The Social Democrats, socialistic and ecological parties do not counter, but supplement and limit these concepts by social and welfare state justified positions. Therefore they could connect education governance and social exclusion and/or inclusion, and do it in few respects. Even if the concepts are marked by ambivalence and contradictions, they at least point to the difficulties that relate to education governance to equal opportunities.

To prove these findings we also looked at the political parties' ideas on teacher training and the future tasks of teachers - assuming they could indicate relationships between education governance and social exclusion and inclusion. However, we found a previously mentioned pattern that shows vague or implicit hints according to these relationships. In general the spectrum of the statements concerning teacher's training ranges from none to highly stylized responsibilities and competencies of the individual teachers. Only the concepts of the SPD or the Alliance90/The Greens tend - either particularly to special education or embedded in a broad and unspecific network pattern - to associate tasks of future teachers with social inclusion.

The CDU states the opinion that "the quality of the work of school (...) is determined by the quality of work, the commitment and the image of teachers". During the teacher training more importance should be attached to the "mediation of social competencies to act" and to "ethical, pedagogical and psychological contents".

The SPD's concept of teacher training differs from present practice. "The development of the schools demands a change in the teacher's training". The goal of teacher education is the acquisition of knowledge, skills and experience; school should become a "place of integration of scientific knowledge and practical knowledge". A clear reference to the ability of future teachers to integrate children with disabilities is given by the SPD in its demand that all teachers have to gather special education competencies in diagnosis and specific promotion during their studies".

The Alliance90/The Greens also plead - along with school reform - for a reform of teacher's training. Their ideas distinguish themselves, less by a closed concept than by a detailed description of the different wishes and demands that do justice to the variety and multi-referential profile of teachers. Their ideas lead to the conclusion that they expect - if not politically then pedagogically - a processing of the connection between education governance and social exclusion/inclusion by a variety of subjects in the training of teachers.

> "We demand obligatory class implementation periods in school, business and social institutions, special and social education as part of the basic training, inter-cultural education and management training as a part of the training program. A qualification for the lessons in bilingual studies also is one of our demands as is the lawful and social equality of foreign teachers".

According to their concept of integration of children and teenagers with disabilities in the regular lessons they demand, similar to the SPD: "The basics of special educational promotion should be a component of all teacher's studies".

The ideas of the PDS on the issue teacher's training are less concrete. They do not have concrete suggestions and steps and they put the reform of the schools in the humanistic responsibility of the teachers. The goal of the brand new quality of teacher education, along with increased job competence, is to develop self responsibility and decision making abilities, as well as encouraging creativity, individuality and plurality among the varied possibilities of continuing education.

Construction of the Subjects – Habitus

Looking at the construction of the subjects within the programs of the political parties, one finds a broad range of metaphors used to sketch the qualities of an ideal 'product' of education: individuality, tolerance, solidarity, responsibility, competence, qualification, creativity, productivity, efficiency etc.

The CDU is opting for responsible and independent thinking citizens for integration and tolerance. It also advocates highly qualified specialists serving the needs of business. Talent, achievement, assessment and grades are the favored measures to move the students through a differentiated, but implicitly hierarchically organized educational system that evaluates the students based on their final reports. In the area of vocational education the CDU takes up the classical topic of equal values of general and vocational education. Referring to the different school attendance rates, the CDU begs for a strengthened attractiveness of vocational education and job-qualifying training in order to turn out more highly qualified specialists than ungifted generalists:

> "On one hand there are more and more A-level graduates who want to start scientific studies without being suitable. On the other hand the interest of young Popeye in this form of education decreases in spite of the high quality standard of German job-training".

In spite of the fact that the CDU pleads for integration and equal educational rights for fringe groups, these groups remain stagnant because integration is limited by achievement criteria. They should not hinder others in their development. The individual's characteristics, preferences and achievements along with the rationality of school selection procedures in a differentiated school system are the crucial points of reference.

> "The purposeful promotion of children from socially difficult conditions and disadvantaged groups and the promotion of highly talented do not exclude, but supplement, each other. Every child has its strengths; to develop them is the duty of the school".

The FDP focuses on the liberal society of citizens who are educated and tolerant, but also dynamic, competitive and efficient, to meet the requirements of the market. Efficiency and preparedness for efficiency are the key foundation of the subjects and the tasks of school. The FDP also opts for "the greatest possible freedom for the individual (...) The greater the freedom the greater the responsibility" and variety. Education is seen an instrument to prevent becoming a loser in the information society and a problem in the job-market. However, change means risk and implies the necessity of lifelong learning for everybody. Thus, the FDP envisions the lifelong learner, who is competitively responsible for his/her biography and life standards, as individualized and proceeding at his/her own risk. The FDP suggests a limitation on time that an individual spends in educational institutions. The individualistic, liberal conception of subjects also includes people with disabilities. On the one hand the state is responsible for their opportunities to freely unfold their talents - for being equal participants in the social life. Conversely, their kind of participation is defined as a contribution to the open society in their own special way. This own special way, however, is not valid for migrants and children from foreign countries. They are supposed to be integrated and assimilated primarily via the German language.

Another of the SPD's views looks on education as a foundation for the development of a personality. Instead of self-responsibility it uses the term self-determination. Consequently it defines the subjects as interacting and joint decision making participants to construct and regulate the school community. The guardians and students will gain more rights of co-determination in the decision making groups.

Similarly the Alliance90/The Greens vote for a democratic authority of negotiation, advice and decision. However they do not restrict the participants to teachers and students but also include parents and, in some respects, the public. Students are viewed as individuals who are able to cross the borders of their own culture and language in preparation for living in a multi-cultural European society. Unlike the CDU, the Alliance90/The Greens plead for an integration of people with and without disabilities and not using achievement as a selection criterion. However, their individualistic perspective is like that of the CDU: In the tradition of enlightenment and humanism, education needs to recognize the difference and variety of the students, their origin and needs.

The PDS puts development of personality first on its list of educational principles, criticizing the concept of competition and efficiency, the utilization of education in the job market. It pleads for opening up existing prejudices in society and developing acceptance of all ways of living". As an objective authority for the definition of an adequate development and its promotion, the PDS believes in science, especially psychology.

The smaller parties on the right and left wing of the political spectrum define the educated subject primarily within the context of their ideologies. Less specifically the DKP aims at emancipation and freedom from all oppression. The Republicans' subject construction is ambivalent. On one hand they want to promote individual talents, abilities, skills and interest of the students through a harmonic development and an unfolding of human possibilities. On the other hand they fiercely criticize individualism like the German one and the egotistical consciousness. In the context of the Republicans' general policy this ambivalence indicates the hidden conflict of this right wing party between their nationalistic ideology and the constitution of the state.

Silences

When describing and comparing the variety of different positions of the political parties, representing the public, one could assume, that few silences remain due to the chosen method and sources. Nevertheless several silences and peculiarities become obvious.

1. When referring to citizenship, political parties hardly take up common social values and virtues as is common in other countries. They primarily view citizenship legally in the context of the constitution of the Federal Republik and its interpretation. In general, civil rights defined by law and the constitution of the Federal Republic are a universal point of reference. This fact could indicate the broken identity of German politics and society when looking at its history, the National Socialism and the World Wars. Because there is no long and stable tradition in establishing and cultivating such common social values and virtues as an uncontested sediment of social life, the constitution functions as an equivalent, providing democratic stability and national identity.

2. The different school types are treated neither systematically nor equally. The political parties turn their attention more intensively to higher and university education. This fact leads to the assumption that political parties prefer - in view of further elections and further electors - a short time perspective, that additionally offers the chance to demonstrate the effects of their educational policy in a short time span.

3. Teachers are rarely recognized as professionals, agents and responsible parties that contribute fundamentally to the intended reforms. Their role and duties are rarely discussed. Implicitly they are seen only as members of the school system. Possibly the political parties try to avoid dealing with a difficult problem, fearing the assumed influence of teachers - not only due to their status as civil

servants or their union power but also due to their public role as teachers close to students and parents.

4. Social integration and exclusion is an important issue, but primarily discussed on a general level with regard to fundamental principles. Education governance is an important matter of discussion too, but it is more closely related to an organizational perspective with regard to the school system. In some aspects, however, an explicit and systematic relationship between education governance and social integration and exclusion can hardly be found in the programs and concepts of the political parties. This pattern seems to be analogous to the classical sociological concept of organizational anarchy in loosely coupled systems, where their ceremonial stories are disconnected and in discordance with their operative procedures.*

5. It is striking that – with the exception of the PDS (the successor of the leading party of the former GDR) – the differences in the educational situation in East and West Germany is not mentioned. One could get the impression that this would no longer be necessary now that the reunion is complete. However, the detailed discussion of the East West differences with regard to the business, work and social policy proves the opposite. Maybe not making the East West difference an issue implies that educational policy has a largely semantic function that is based on the political and constitutional unity as a common utopia, from which to formulate the concrete utopias of educational political concepts and possible wishes. In short: The reference to educational policy is – with all federal differences – quite Germany. Making the East West difference an issue would deny the construction of unity that is self-made by politics and parties. Educational policy symbolizes unity, equality, and efficiency of the nation, by shifting the problems of inequality onto the individual, the broader social and cultural space or into the relationships between generations and classes.

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*Cf. WEICK, Karl E. (1976). Educational Organizations as Loosely Coupled Systems. In Administrative Science Quarterly 21. s 1-19. MEYER, John W. & ROWAN, Brian. (1977). Institutionalized Organisations. Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony. In American Journal of Sociology 83. s. 340-368. KAMENS, David H. (1977). Legitimating Myths and Educational Organization. The Relationship between Organisational Ideology and Formal Structure. In American Sociological Review 42. s 208-219. MEYER, John W. (1977). The Effects of Education as an Institution. In American Journal of Sociology 83. s 55-77.

4. Greece

Andreas Kazamias & Evie Zambeta:

Crisis and Reform in Greek Education – A Modern Greek Sisyphus: Analysis of Texts

Introduction

As stated in the first EGSIE background report on the Greek educational system, several state-initiated reform efforts after the Second World War "have not measured up to expectations," a tortuous modernising reform trajectory that we have metaphorically characterised as "A Modern Greek Sisyphus" (Kazamias and Roussakis, 1998). Despite some modifications in the public system of schooling that resulted from the reform "episodes" of 1964, 1976-77 and 1985, the record of "success" has been mixed and frustrating.

The following changes, innovations or readjustments are especially worthy of note: expansion of the educational enterprise; extension of free compulsory general education from six to nine years; abolition of national examinations from the gymnasion to the lykeion; "solution" of the language problem; teaching of classical Greek texts in modern Greek translations; abolition of the school inspectorate; and the rewriting of many school textbooks.

Such reforms appear at first sight to be substantial and comprehensive in that they extend over a considerable cross-section of the educational system, including institutional organisation, curriculum, mechanisms of selection and teacher education. Viewed from the perspective of comparative historical analysis, however, the verdict has been that they have not measured up to the policy-makers' auspicious declarations and expectations. Chronic system pathologies, weaknesses and inefficiencies have stubbornly persisted.

These have been summarised as: (a) persistence of inequalities of opportunities between urban and rural areas and among occupational groups or "social classes" and social exclusion of ethnic and religious minorities; (b) relatively high drop-out rates (not all children, for example, enjoy the right of nine-year schooling); (c) persistence of *frontisteria* (cram schools); (d) schooling that is characterised by formalism, authoritarian pedagogy, and anachronistic educational knowledge; (e) a double educational network (general and vocational) that has functioned differentially among social groups and "asynchronically" in relation to society and the realm of work; and (f) absence of reforms within the system of governance. In this latter respect, the replacement of the school inspectors by "school counsellors" did not substantially alter the traditional system of central direction and control. And, although in recent years there has been much talk about "decentralisation" or "de-concentration," the system of governance, control and policy-making has remained as tightly centralised and bureaucratised as ever. This pattern of governance, according to the recent OECD examiners' report, "makes of education a closed system, not easily amenable to change and innovation." (OECD, 1997, pp. 191-92).

Here it would be pertinent to note that in seeking to explain the vicissitudes and travails of Greek educational reform - what we have called the modern Greek Sisyphus in a previous study - we argued that, among other explanatory variables, the political-structural factor centering on the multi-faceted nature of the Greek state and, by extension, of Greek politics and Greek political culture, should be considered as being quite crucial. More specifically, we argued that (a) the persistence in Greece of patronage politics and a "clientelist" culture, played on the arena of an overextended, centralised and bureaucratic state, which is constantly grappling with an ideological crisis of legitimacy, is prone to give rise to intra-regime countervailing tendencies that undermine the government's credibility and block the course of educational reform; and (b) such type of reform in Greece, as indeed elsewhere, could also be viewed from another politically relevant perspective, namely, from the perspective of politics as symbolic action, or, as we would prefer, reform as dramaturgy. (Kazamias, 1990). The centralist character of the Greek state, the non-transparent decision-making processes and the clientelist networks of political manipulation continue to be salient in Greek socio-political formation and in all likelihood will continue to affect the Greek trajectory of educational reform (See also Zambeta, 2000).

Be that as it may, the governments of the 1990s (that of the earlier neo-conservative New Democracy and the current one of the "socialist" PASOK), have considered the existing state of affairs in education as quite inadequate, especially in view of Greece's commitment to the new

European idea and what such commitment entails in terms of Greece's active participation in the "imagined" integrated Europe of late modernity. Immediately after the 1996 elections, when PASOK was returned to power with Costas Simitis as the Prime Minister, the reform movement in education and in other spheres picked up considerable momentum. Simitis and his inner group in the government and the party in power projected the reform image of "modernizers," which, among other things, implied being also "neo-Europeanists." With Gerasimos Arsenis, an economist, as Minister of Education, and two professors of education from the University of Athens (Michael Kassotakis and Theodoros Exarchakos) as his main advisers, a comprehensive plan for the structural readjustment, modernisation and democratisation of the Greek system of schooling was prepared. The reform package was published under the telling title "Education 2000—Toward a Paideia of Open Horizons" (1997). In this "reform manifesto" it was stated that the overhauling of the educational system was dictated by the challenges posed by the "new order of things," and the new European and global order that, among other things, entailed "great social and economic readjustments," new systems of communication, and the like. Hence, Education 2000 averred:

> "It is the responsibility of education/schooling to prepare its citizens, so that they will be able to face this challenge and competition, to have the opportunity to enter the European and the international order and to be in a position to survive and excel in the international world, as it is being formed" (Education 2000, 1997).

Following the appearance of Education 2000, the government piloted through the Greek parliament an education bill called Law 2525/1997, that incorporated most of the policy recommendations of "Toward a Paideia of Open Horizons."

The narrative of the reform

The reform's rhetoric

The current reform measures, as embodied in key texts such as Law 2525/1997, have been presented by the government as encompassing the whole spectrum of the educational system and generally of Greek *paideia*. In the crisis discourse that preceded and accompanied the legislative enactments and ministerial decrees, it was contended that the upper level of secondary schooling (the *Lykeion*) had lost its educational autonomy, serving mainly as a portal to tertiary education. At the same time, it had proved to be inadequate in preparing students for the general entrance examinations into AEIs. As a result, Greek families were forced to turn to the private preparatory courses – the notorious *frontisteria* – a recourse that, among other things, imposed heavy financial burdens on them and undermined the democratic principles of "free education for all". In fact, students paid more attention to the type of "fragmented" knowledge offered by the *frontisteria* and less to what was offered in the schools. It was believed that because of this state of affairs, the goal of "general education" had been seriously short-changed. It was also argued that the existing type of *Lykeion* did not equip its graduates with the skills needed for their integration into the labour market.

Another dimension of the rather persistent Greek educational crisis was considered to be the supply-demand imbalance in higher education, which, in turn, had led to an increasingly high rate of student emigration to other European countries and the USA. In addition to the exodus of foreign exchange, the keen competition for the high-status university faculties, created by this imbalance, caused great anxiety to both students and families. The competitiveness of the system had become even stronger because the general entrance examinations were the only way to gain access to institutions of higher education on a *numerus clausus* basis. As the system offered no alternative pathways, those who failed were permanently excluded. In the words of the Minister of Education: "The Greek family demands that it rid itself of the financial burden of *frontisteria* that have no educational justification whatsoever," and that there should be no student emigration. This situation, according to the Minister, has serious social implications and leads to "educational exclusion" (D6).

In Greece, a heated discussion has long been waged around school effectiveness and educational efficiency. This was especially salient after 1982, when, as noted above, the system of School Inspectors (SIs) was abolished and replaced by School Advisors (SAs). However, the SAs did not actually assume any responsibilities regarding educational evaluation and teacher assessment. The absence of a reliable system of educational evaluation and teacher assessment has all along been considered to be a key variable in judgements regarding quality and efficiency in Greek education. Also related to issues of quality, school effectiveness and educational efficiency was the method of teacher recruitment, which has been based on the *epedirida,* the yearly seniority waiting list.

The connecting "saga" of these reform policies was that the goals of democratisation, modernisation and efficiency should be accompanied by quality improvement in education, which could be ensured by rigorous and systematic procedures of educational evaluation and teacher assessment. The connotations/images that the reform's rhetoric elaborated were that the new regulations would promote the democratisation and the modernisation of the educational system. However, in this connection it is worth mentioning that in the reform rhetoric of the Minister of Education any reference to modernisation was accompanied by "negative" comments. More often than not, the Minister put more emphasis on democratisation and the upgrading of the quality of education rather than on modernisation. This may be attributed to the fact that in the context of the contemporary Greek political arena, the term modernisation has been symbolically attached to or associated with the "modernisation wing" of the government in power, namely, PASOK (D7). It could therefore be argued that this is a political posture related to the personal strategy of particular political figures within the government. Nevertheless, it could also be argued that this conflicting situation regarding the official reform discourse at this historical juncture reflects certain contradictions in the character of the reform policies.

The reform framework

Law 2525/1997

Law 2525/1997 (D2) constitutes the main institutional framework of the recent and on-going educational reform. As noted above, this document is framed/constructed along similar principles and guidelines as Education 2000. Conjointly, the Prefatory Statement/Report attached to the legal text provides the rationale of the policy_framework and the principles upon which it is based.

The main policy provisions of Law 2525 include the following:

The institution of the *Eniaio Lykeio* (EL) which could be rendered Unified Lyceum (UL) in English, denoting a "comprehensive" type of school, and the institution of all-day kindergartens and elementary schools;

New mechanisms regulating access to tertiary education (university and non-university level institutions which in Greek are referred to as *AEIs);*

Abolition of the yearly "waiting list" in the recruitment and appointment of teachers (the so-called *epedirida)* and, instead, the introduction of teacher tests as well as a Pedagogical and Teaching Certificate (PTC);

- The introduction of educational evaluation and teacher assessment.

- In addition, the Law provides for the issuing of ministerial and/or presidential decrees relating to:
- Mechanisms that have to do with educational and / or vocational guidance / orientation;
- The establishment of 13 "Centres for the Support of Educational Planning," one in each province; and
- The functions and responsibilities of the existing Pedagogical Institute (PI).

As with all major legislation, a Prefatory Statement/Report *(Eisigitiki Ekthesi)* to Law 2525 expounded on the government's rationale for this important act. In this document the following justificatory assertions/rationale can be found:

The new Unified Lyceum (*Eniaio Lykeio*) would provide "high level general education" which would develop creativity, critical thinking and new skills. It would offer not only a broader curriculum but also the possibility of choice among different subject areas. Furthermore, the new Lyceum would provide the knowledge needed for entry into AEIs. At the same time, it would develop the necessary skills for further training and for a smooth transition from school to work. Additionally, it would be a more inclusive educational institution in that it would offer compensatory instruction (*enischytiki didaskalia*) to those who have learning difficulties.

Access to tertiary education (AEIs) would be "free" to holders of a Unified Lyceum school leaving certificate/diploma. The general entrance examinations and the *numerus clausus* would be abolished. In this context it would also be relevant to add that, according to the new enactment, tertiary education would offer freedom of choice among various types of establishments. These would include: (i) the existing universities, (ii) new institutional structures called Optional University Courses (PSE), into which access would be regulated through alternative routes, (iii) a newly established Open University, and (iv) the existing Technological Educational Institutes (TEIs).

The much heralded need for educational quality and efficiency would be ensured through the introduction of national examinations for the recruitment and appointment of teachers, and through assessment mechanisms regarding teacher performance.

Law 2413/1996 and Cultural Diversity

One of the important issues of the current educational reform is the way in which cultural diversity is being conceptualised and treated. In 1996, i.e., prior to the enactment of the reforms that are being analysed here, Law 2413/1996 on Greek education abroad and on intercultural education was passed (D4). It is worth noting here that although 33 articles in this law refer in detail to the organisation and provision of Greek education abroad, only two articles refer to the introduction of intercultural education in Greece. According to Law 2413/1996, the aim of intercultural education is "the organisation and operation of school units in primary and secondary education, that provide for the education of young people with educational, social, or cultural differences." Interestingly, in this law "intercultural education" is defined with reference to social groups that differ from the dominant group and not as an educational attitude that would apply to the whole spectrum of the educational system as part of the general paideia.

Silences, contradictions and "discontents" of the reform

Multiculturalism/cultural diversity and globalisation

Although Law 2525 (D2) is the main piece of legislation upon which reform policies and their implementation will be based, the multicultural and globalisation discourse of Education 2000 (D1) and of the previous law on "intercultural education" (D4) was not incorporated or even reflected in it.

"Europe"

A very interesting silence, if not contradiction of the current reform policies, is related to Europe and the place of Greece in the on-going process of European political, economic and social integration. Given, as noted above, Greece's putative neo-European modernity course, it is worth noting that the idea of Europe and the concept of European citizenship are not explicitly mentioned in the main reform texts. Current educational policy reflects a rather "utilitarian" approach to European integration. On several occasions, for example, references are made to the "European Community Support Framework" (ECSF) which is the main source of funding for many of the reforms. The political discourse constructed by the Ministry of Education does not refer to the implications of European integration for the educational system in itself. However, it should be pointed out that some of the discursive statements and practices in the reform package seem to be congruent with the pronouncements and policy orientations of the EU and the OECD. For example, terms such as "high quality general education," "competition," "information," "flexibility," "*technognosia*" (techno-knowledge), "choice," "skills needed in the labour market" and "second chance school" echo the language used in the EU's important White Paper Education and Training: Towards the Learning Society. From this it would appear that the Greek educational modernisation discourse echoes what may be called a "neo-European neo-liberal educational reformism".

On the other hand, the observations above would seem to reflect a contradiction in current policies: Europe appears to be symbolically present and absent at the same time! The reform does not explicitly refer to Europe, but it uses its terminology, language and resources.

New inequalities and social exclusion:

The new regulations recreate a double educational network. After the completion of the gymnasion (the three-year lower secondary general school) there will be: (a) the favoured path – the Unified Lyceum UL) – which now becomes the linchpin that will monitor access into institutions of higher learning (AEIs) through intensive examinations in the last two years, and thereby to higher status occupational paths, and (b) a not so favoured path – the *Technika Ekpaideuteria* (Technical/Vocational Educational Establishments) – which would be attended by those excluded from entering the Unified Lyceum (D3). This statutory arrangement can be viewed as a self-selective exclusionary mechanism from and a barrier to "liberal" or general education (geniki paideia), as well as a regulatory agent in the demand for higher education. Even for those who will have access to the Unified Lyceum, the system will be socially and culturally exclusive: under the new arrangements, the successful completion of the UL studies will necessitate private tuition in the frontisteria. Contrary to the lawmakers' assertions, frontisteria will now be needed not only for entrance into tertiary institutions but for the award of the secondary school-leaving certificate as well. It could therefore be reasonably concluded that the reform framework, adumbrated in this text (Law 2525), which purportedly will create the structural preconditions for a socially more inclusive system, will instead have the opposite effect. In this connection, it could perhaps be of interest to cast a cursory "look backward" to the educational reforms of the mid-1980s, which were introduced by the same political party as the one in power today, namely, the "socialist" PASOK. According to Law 1566, enacted in 1985, students could complete upper secondary education without being subjected to so many selective mechanisms. Law 2525 subverts this possibility.

Educational governance and social inclusion/exclusion

Structural changes, "comprehensiveness" and "free access" to tertiary education

The institutional framework suggested in Law 2525 reflects a modified pattern of state steering in education. It is claimed that this modified "reformist" pattern of state steering or "governance" will establish the "initial conditions" for a socially more inclusive schooling. However, the grounds for such optimism are rather shaky, as indicated or implied by the following analysis.

- a. The *Enaio Lykeio* (Unified Lyceum) reconstitutes the institutional structure at the upper level of secondary schooling. A secondary type of "comprehensive" lyceum, called the *Polykladikon Lykeion* (PL) was introduced in 1985. However, for various reasons, including rather lukewarm support by the then PASOK government, the PL did not take root. It remained experimental and hence quite marginal; only 25 such schools were established. This time the government seems to be more committed to the comprehensive idea. Accordingly, upper secondary schooling, based on the idea of the Unified Lyceum, is to be restructured at the national level. However, as noted above, this restructuring of the Unified Lyceum level of schooling does not promise to constitute an institutional organisational mechanism for a more inclusive system of secondary education, particularly secondary general education. In addition to what has been said already, the secondary Technical Vocational Educational Establishments are basically excluded from the system of general education. Thus in the name of "comprehensiveness" a "bipartite" and socially exclusive system is actually being set up (103).
- b. According to the reform framework, the general examinations for entrance into tertiary institutions are being abolished, and all who attain a Unified Lyceum school-leaving certificate will henceforth be eligible to secure a place in higher education institutions. However, as already noted, frequent examinations and tests in the last two years of the Unified Lyceum will regulate access and render higher education less open and "inclusive" than the lawmakers claim.

Certification, Recruitment and Appointment of Teachers

Until 1997, entrance into the teaching profession was regulated by the Ministry of Education through the already referred to epedirida. Law 2525 abolishes this system of teacher recruitment and replaces it by other regulatory mechanisms. One such mechanism is the introduction of national teacher examinations. Eligible to participate in the national examination are university graduates who are also holders of a newly-created Pedagogical and Teaching Certificate (PTC) awarded by the universities.

It should be added here that: (a) According to the new state-steering mechanisms, access to the profession will not be regulated by the profession itself but by an independent administrative authority (ASEP) which will monitor the appointment of all public sector personnel, a steering mechanism that, in our judgement, runs counter to the professionalization of teachers; (b) ASEP is a body that, in our opinion, lacks the necessary expertise in the field of education/pedagogy: already serious questions have been raised about the reliability and validity of the examination as well as the selection of the cognitive areas; and (c) Serious anxieties on the part of the academic community have been voiced regarding the possible effects of these examinations on the universities.

Educational evaluation as a mechanism of improving efficiency and quality

Regarding the assessment of student performance in the Unified Lyceum, the law advertises the introduction of innovative techniques and new areas of student evaluation that do not refer exclusively to the acquisition of knowledge but also to basic skills. It should be noted, however, that the evaluation process is going to be an extremely intensive selective mechanism which will regulate access to higher education. The vast network of examinations that will be created will unavoidably lead to the increase of drop-outs.

Teacher assessment

New evaluation mechanisms are being introduced at the school, the regional and the national levels. Teacher assessment will be carried out by the headteacher, the school advisor, and the regional administrator respectively. A Special Body of Assessors/Evaluators (*Eidiko Soma Axiologiton)* is being introduced whose responsibility will be the evaluation/assessment of "the physical infrastructure (e.g., buildings and equipment), the administration of the school, the educational process, the evaluation of teachers and the administrative personnel, and finally the evaluation of the efficiency of each school".

In this connection, it is of significance to point out that, after 16 years of absence of any form of educational evaluation (following the abolition of school inspectors), the same political party introduces a complex, multilevel and intensive system of teacher assessment and control.

Citizen -state -world relations/ constructing habitus

Law 2525 / 97 affects mainly two categories of subjects: (a) the students, as recipients of the new upper secondary education and as candidates for tertiary education, and (b) the teachers, as civil servants appointed by the state and as a cadre subjected to evaluation and accountability.

Students are viewed

- As learners who need to develop creativity, initiative, and critical thinking. This will be achieved through the provision of "general education for all". The learners will be able to pursue their own paths to knowledge through the choice of different streams (theoretical, scientific and technological) and optional subjects. The introduction of choice in upper secondary education is one of the novelties of the current reform.
- As learners whose needs will be fully met by the school, and, therefore, they will not need to attend private courses, as has been the case up to now. The school will also offer compensatory/support programmes to all those students who have learning difficulties.
- As potential learners who will have a second chance to complete their compulsory education, regardless of their age, through the second chance schools.
- As subjects who will be guided in their future vocational choices, through the introduction of vocational guidance in the secondary school programmes. Such vocational guidance will be regulated by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labour.
- As candidates for the labour market, who will need to have a sound general education and the necessary special skills in the fields of their choice.
- As candidates for higher education, through a system of "free access" to higher education institutions.

- As learners subjected to continuous evaluation in order to obtain the secondary school-leaving certificate, the ticket to higher education and post-secondary training programs.

While, as noted above, there is an attempt to construct subjects within the national and European development framework, there is no explicit or implicit reference to the cultural or social diversity of students. What can also be extracted from the specific measures described in the text is that the evaluation process will be much more intensive than before. Lastly, the second chance schools will be limited to those who do not complete their compulsory education.

Teachers are viewed

- As civil servants, whose appointment will be fully regulated by the state through examinations and not through a list of seniority as has been the case until now. The state will also decide who is eligible to sit for these examinations with the introduction of the Pedagogical and Teaching Certificate (PTC).
- As the main actors responsible for the low quality/standards in Greek education, because until now there was no standard procedure to assess their own effectiveness, nor that of their school.
- As a body of people who should be held accountable to the authorities and to specially appointed state functionaries for each and every of their instructional activities. It can be easily inferred from these measures that Law 2525 seeks to alter the power relations between the teachers and the state, reasserting and indeed strengthening the central role of the Ministry in the governance of education.

Concluding reflections and considerations

In the introduction to this analysis of key texts pertaining to the recent and ongoing reform of the Greek system of education and Greek *paideia*, specifically the key text Law 2525/1997, we stated that underlying the various reform "episodes" and discourses of the post-World War II period there were two related cardinal socio-historical and politico-ideological principles or conceptual scaffolds: modernisation and democratisation. Both of these concepts have putatively been activating ideals in the current reform "episode" which has been based on the educational manifesto Education 2000: Toward a *Paideia* of Open Horizons. In the words of G.

Arsenis, the Minister of Education and Religions who was responsible for this reform package:

> "The measures that are being proposed in connection with the educational reform package pertain to and influence all levels of education/schooling. Our aim is, in the years to come, to construct a modern and qualitatively; improved educational system of widened educational choices for all citizens, irrespective of age, a system that will form the foundation for the progress of Greek society and for the development of the country." (Education 2000, 1997, p.5).

As analysed above, several of the measures that were enacted have purportedly this "inclusive" orientation. This is particularly the case with the *Eniaio Lykeio* (Unified Lyceum), the changes in the policy regarding admission to institutions of higher learning, and others. But, as we also noted, not much is being said about the socially excluded religious and the ethno-cultural minorities, or about how urban-rural, socio-economic and regional disparities are going to be eliminated or lessened. The modernising policy of paying more attention to economic efficiency and less to the democratic idea of social equity is quite apparent.

In the official reform discourse that preceded Law 2525/1997, in the debates in the Greek Parliament (the *Voule)* and, to a lesser extent, in statements by government spokespersons surrounding or accompanying this text, references were made to such governance principles and policy goals as: democratic education, teacher participation in the evaluation of students, participation of school principals as well as regional administrative officers and school counsellors in the evaluation of the "school units," and a degree of decentralisation in the planning of education (from the centre to the regions). Such references could be interpreted as indicating that the intent of the lawmakers was to restructure the state-steering and control mechanisms of Greek education in the direction of decentralisation or deconcentration of the decision-making process, as well as a greater degree of "teacher autonomy." However, upon closer investigation of the texts, the picture that emerges appears to be quite different. In our assessment, what actually emerges is a "stronger," a more regulatory and a more "controlling" state. In "modernising" the Greek state and the mechanisms of governance, Prime Minister Costas Simitis and his political-ideological *confreres* in the present PASOK government and the party at large have been using the term Strategic or Headquarter State.

Documents (D)/Texts Used

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5. Iceland

Ingólfur Ásgeir Jóhannesson, Gunnar E. Finnbogason & Guðrún Geirsdóttir:

Curriculum, management and self-evaluation in Icelandic primary and secondary schools

Introduction

This report reviews recent documents dealing with Icelandic education. In section I, we discuss what we mean by issues and events we studied and the selection of three documents for scrutiny. In section II, we identify the main issues in the documents/texts that we selected: that is, how the documents present issues of governance, integration, and exclusion in education; the stories/sagas of progress and denials, the images, the beliefs, etc.; and how they build individuals, students as well as teachers, the relationship between state and civil society, and issues of globalization. Section III includes a summary, *the saga* of these documents/texts presented as a preliminary analysis of current legitimating principles in Icelandic education reform as well as speculations about further research. This summary report is based on a 53-page draft report that we presented under the same title and includes a detailed analysis of the three documents that we studied (Ingólfur Ásgeir Jóhannesson, Gunnar E. Finnbogason and Guðrún Geirsdóttir 1998.)

Issues and events

Before we selected documents, we discussed the issues or events that we wanted to analyze. We identified the most important issues/events in educational governance and social integration/exclusion in the EGSIE case study report (Ingólfur Ásgeir Jóhannesson and Sigurjón Mýrdal 1999). We then selected events based on two criteria: first that we considered the event to be of utmost importance in the current conjuncture of educational discourses in Iceland (see selected events below); and second that the event was comparable to other cases, as presented in the first EGSIE-report (Lindblad and Popkewitz 1999.)

This requires some explanation. By conjuncture of discourses we mean that we see the Icelandic education system and ideas in rapid change, and that no single ideology in relation to organization or curriculum governs every aspect of Icelandic education. In this vein different socially and historically constructed legitimate principles compete. Previous work and work in progress by team members and others presents various aspects of those discursive conflicts (e.g., Þorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, Ingólfur Ásgeir Jóhannesson 1991, 1993a, 1993b, Gunnar Finnbogason 1995, 1996, Guðrún Geirsdóttir 1996, 1997, Sigurjón Mýrdal 1996; see also Popkewitz, Lindblad, and Strandberg 1999,) and in our concluding remarks in this report we discuss these earlier findings in relation to our findings here.

By event we mean some aspect of the conjuncture about which we can compose a narrative. Such events are identified in the case study report (Ingólfur Ásgeir Jóhannesson and Sigurjón Mýrdal 1999.) Such an event can, therefore, have a beginning and an end to itself, at least in the narrative. For instance, the transfer process of financial and management responsibility of primary schools from the state to municipal authorities in 1996 is an event about which we could tell the story. Our aim is, however, to investigate the story of the discourse on selected events. This means that we did not focus on finding the first mention of an event, but rather to identify what documents/texts and education actors think of the significance of the event in relation to educational governance and social integration/exclusion in the country. Some of what we can write a narrative about are, perhaps, issues rather than events; contract management and self-evaluation are such issues. Those issues as they appear as historically and socially constructed patterns, can indeed be considered events (Foucault 1972/1988.) For instance, the task of introducing a school-based self-evaluation can be explained by narrating the discussion patterns that appear. Here we focus on issues/events.

The four issues/events we reviewed were:

- National curriculum for primary and secondary schools
- The transfer of primary schools (finance and management) from state to municipal authorities
- Contract management in secondary and primary schools
- Self-evaluation (that is, school-based evaluation at the early childhood, primary school, and secondary school levels)

The selection of documents

The research project is designed to answer questions about educational governance, social integration/exclusion, and the relationship between those two questions. Therefore, we looked specifically for important documents that dealt, explicitly or implicitly, with those questions. In some of them we found important gaps in the relationship between governance and integration/exclusion (see the answer to question # 3, below). We also searched for single documents on each of the four issues/events, rather than, for instance, newspaper or magazine articles or policy reports dealing with many topics at once. And we searched for documents that did not have named individuals assigned as authors. For these four events we eventually decided to look at three ministry documents/texts. We were unable to locate a single document on the transfer of the primary school to municipal authorities that was suitable for the analysis and adhered to the above criteria.

The first document is Enn betri skóli. Þeirra rétturokkar skylda (Better School Than Ever. Their Right-Our Responsibility) from the ministry of education, science, and culture, published in two parts in February and April 1998. The first part was delivered into every home in Iceland and presents the main ideas behind the rewriting and redesigning the national curriculum for primary and secondary schools. The second part, more detailed, was sent to primary and secondary schools. It includes a more detailed discussion of the ideas behind the curriculum design as well as the major goals of the subject matter to be included in the national curriculum. It appears that behind this pair of documents are reports of groups that prepared goals for nine subject areas. These reports have been in progress, and they have appeared on the website of the ministry of education, science, and culture (Menntamálaráðuneytið 1999a.) To compare the discussion in the document pair Enn betri skóli with earlier curricular views and definitions, we consulted previous curricula for primary and secondary schools (Námsskrá fyrir barnaskóla 1929, Drög að námsskrám fyrir barnaskóla og gagnfræðaskóla 1948, Námsskrá fyrir nemendur á fræðsluskyldualdri 1960, Aðalnámskrá grunnskóla 1976–1977, 1989, Námskrá handa framhaldsskólum 1986, 1987, 1990), the current curriculum for the early childhood education level (Uppeldisáætlun fyrir leikskóla 1993), a primary school curriculum draft from 1983 (Aðalnámskrá grunnskóla. Almennur hluti. Drög 1983), two policy reports from the early 1990s (Til nýrrar aldar 1991, Nefnd um mótun menntastefnu 1994), and the most recent legislation on early childhood, primary, and secondary education (Lög um leikskóla 1994, Lög um grunnskóla 1974, Lög um grunnskóla 1991, Lög um grunnskóla 1995, Lög um framhaldsskóla 1988, Lög um framhaldsskóla 1996.)

The second document is on contract management, a budgeting reform proposal and management ideology, called Umbætur og nýskipan í ríkisrekstri (Reform and Innovation in State Management) from the ministry of finance, published in 1993. Contract management is based on allocating money to an institution or a firm and designing the services in a contract. This document does not specifically deal with education, but it is very interesting to see how it deals with management and steering issues without making many references to specific sectors of society. Other documents on contract management were also consulted (e.g., Nýskipan í ríkisrekstri 1994, Samningsstjórnun 1994, Aðalsteinn Eiríksson 1995, Kvennaskólinn í Reykjavík 1995a, 1995b, Um samningsstjórnun 1995, Árangursstjórnun í ríkisrekstri 1996, Fjárhagslegur aðskilnaður í rekstri ríkisstofnana 1997.)

The third document is Sjálfsmat skóla (Self-evaluation in Schools) published by the ministry of education, science, and culture in 1997. Its subtitle is Leikskólar, grunnskólar, framhaldsskólar, referring to early childhood education, primary schools, and secondary schools. We selected this booklet because it is published by the ministry as a guide-booklet and a checklist for self-evaluation. As such, it must carry the ministry's understanding of self-evaluation. The booklet is the main document from the ministry that schools can use to guide self-evaluation. We believe that schools must indeed be expected to rely heavily on it since it includes norms for the inspection of self-evaluation methods. Because self-evaluation is a relatively new and not a widespread practice in Icelandic schools we believe that very few schools will develop their own approach but rather use what is said in the booklet. We also found a few sources on evaluation projects in Icelandic schools (e.g., Ingvar Sigurgeirsson 1996, Mat á starfi leikskólans Furuborgar 1998, Rúnar Sigþórsson et al. 1997, TIMSS 1999, Valgerður Snæland Jónsdóttir 1995, Vigfús Hallgrímsson 1996). In our analysis we keep in mind our own experience of a self-evaluation project in teacher education, stipulated and conducted by the ministry of education, science, and culture during the academic year of 1997 to 1998 (see also Menntamálaráðuneytið 1999b.)

As said before, we did not find a single policy document/text from the government or another source on the transfer of the primary school to municipal authorities. We are uncertain as to how much significance should be assigned to this fact. It is tempting, however, to say that the nonexistence of such a document says something about the silences in educational discourse, as this event might be the most important one in the current conjuncture in relation to educational governance and social integration/exclusion. We would have liked to have included a document that described the reasons why the transfer was important, what the advantages would be, how obstacles would be dealt with, etc. In the absence of such a document, we conducted a data search that came up with hundreds of newspaper and magazine articles. We investigated a few of them, but eventually we decided that it would be too laborious to analyse them in this phase of our project. These articles, as well as material related to the parliamentary discussion on the legislation, thus remain to be researched to better understand the discursive positions in the education field in the 1990s. We turn again to a brief discussion of the importance of the transfer in the 1990s reform discourse in section III.

Stories and beliefs

This research project is aimed at finding the stories and beliefs of progress and denials in educational discourse in Europe and Australia. We have tried to find the stories, covert and overt, that the documents/texts tell or do not tell. Through that we try to see how the saga of the current Icelandic education reform is being constructed. We have focused on identifying the beliefs that we see in the reform ideas. By belief we mean the way that individuals take concepts and categories, practices and priorities, as given, make them their own, and use them in documents/texts without questioning their origin or even their value to do what they are supposed to do. Those who doubt them are usually considered negative eccentrics who have not understood the truth rather than, for instance, careful rationalists. These beliefs tend to become deeply held views that players in the field of education are convinced of, and they are highly constructive of the legitimating principles in the educational discourse in the educational discourse (see section III).

Inevitably, some of our conclusions here are partial. In part that is because this is a summary report but more so because no definitive reading of these documents/texts can be arrived at. Further, in our draft report we decided not to eliminate things that could be construed as assertions for at least two reasons: 1) because we have all been participants in reform work (in the 1980s) and teacher education (now) so we often use participants' knowledge when we compare the current discourse with that of 20 to 30 years ago; and 2), because we intend to substantiate, or find wrong, some of those conclusions in the interview phase of the EGSIE research project (Work Package IV, see, e.g., EGSIE 1999, Lindblad and Popkewitz 1999).

This summary report includes sketches of images of the stories we read through the documents/texts. We summarise the main issues we found in the three documents/texts in Section II, and in Section III we begin the process of comprehending how legitimating principles of educational reform in the 1990s are constructed.

Summary of main issues in educational documents/texts

This section summarises the answers to the text analysis questions. We refer to the specific documents/texts in most cases by using abbreviations: *EBS* for *Enn betri skóli*, *SA* for *Umbætur og nýskipan í ríkisrekstri* og *SJ* for *Sjálfsmat skóla*. (EBS and SJ are easy-to-decode abbreviations but SA are simply the first two letters in the Icelandic word for contract management, i.e., *samningsstjórnun*.)

Governance—Social inclusion/exclusion

Governance

Question 1. What ideas and categories are presented in the texts/documents regarding governance? Are these new? How so? What silences are created in this?

Decentralisation versus centralisation. We are surprised how little we found written about decentralisation or distribution of power in these three documents/texts. Of course, we ask ourselves if "user-control" (SA) is the same thing as decentralisation or if it should be considered "decentralisation to let the market decide." We think it is, but Icelandic terms for decentralisation (e.g., *valddreifing*, *dreifstýring*) are not much used. Our hypothesis, however, is that more is said about decentralisation versus centralisation in talking and writing about the transfer of primary schools from state to municipal authorities. However, the issues we discuss in the following are issues normally seen as decentralisation. Therefore it is fair to say that we are observing some kind of a decentralisation rhetoric in these documents/texts.

Frames and objectives. We observe an increased emphasis on the definition of financial frames (SA) and measurable objectives (EBS, SA, SJ). Such "frame-thinking" presupposes that a school policy can be determined in advance. Inside such a frame of school policy, there is to be a national curriculum guide; an adapted version of it, called *skólanámskrá*, (a school curriculum), in each primary and secondary school; a definition of the ways in which schools are governed and organised; and the position towards tests and entry requirements (EBS). This is not possible unless goals and objectives are clearly defined in the school policy as it is to be determined in national curricula (EBS). Such frames are also important in relation to the allocation of money. The frame approach is a management style where specific ministries, in this case the Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture, or state institutions, for instance secondary schools, can prioritise projects, depending on the available capital (SA). Of course, the same applies to municipal authorities in the operation of their institutions.

Contract management. Associated with frame-thinking is the method of allocating money for an institution (for instance, a school) by designing a contract that determines what kind of service the institution should provide and to whom. The school becomes a contractor that has to deliver certain quantities and qualities and may, at least in theory, lose the contract if it does not do as defined in it. The contract does not only deal with the operation but also the business environment of the particular institution. The main idea behind this is to provide the institution with increased autonomy, and in exchange the institution is required to fulfil objectives concerning performance, efficiency, and, not the least, reorganisation. The extent of the autonomy varies, but, in general, more is expected the more autonomous the institutions are (SA).

Goal-steering of subject matter versus an emphasis on pedagogical aims. We observe an increased emphasis on externally determined goals and measurable objectives to be defined in national curricula (EBS). Contract management is impossible without such goals and objectives, and they are supposed to be created by politicians and politically appointed authorities (SA). Even in the document on self-evaluation we see an emphasis on external goal-setting and external evaluation (inspection) of the self-evaluation process (SJ). This takes the focus from child-centred and democratic aims towards a subject-matter focus, which is a considerable change from the legitimating principles of the 1970s and 1980s (see e.g. Section III).

Self-evaluation as a steering method. Self-evaluation is stipulated by law at the primary and secondary school levels in Iceland. We observe an emphasis on self-evaluation in part as jargon, since concepts from the Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture are not clearly defined in the booklet on self-evaluation (SJ). For instance, it is not clear what is meant by goals and objectives, and there is no explanation of how self-evaluation creates a base for professional reform, although exactly that is stated. We also observe that *skólanámskrár* (direct translated "school curricula"), stipulated in the Primary School Act of 1995 (*Lög um grunnskóla* 1995), are not especially discussed in these documents, indeed surprisingly little. (However, *skólanámskrá* is mentioned in a checklist in SJ.) The design of such school curricula began in primary schools in the late 1980s, or at least the "modern" version of it. Schools were helped to do it, and the national curriculum guide for primary schools from 1989 (*Aðalnámskrá grunnskóla* 1989) fostered such a practice. We do not know how much the omission of school curricula from EBS, SA and SJ is in fact deliberate; yet, it is easy to argue that a school curriculum including other elements than the national curriculum is contrary to the discourse in these three documents. And how would such deviating goals be handled in the self-evaluation process?

Reliance on external expertise. We observe an emphasis on diagnosis ("powerful analysis"), for example of special needs, to be conducted by experts (most likely the experts are psychologists and special education teachers). For instance, the parents of all six-year-olds will be offered a dyslexia diagnosis examination for their children (EBS). Self-evaluation models are to be inspected and approved of by external evaluators (SJ). This could be in contrast with teacher professionalism (see also question 7 below).

The changing role of the principal. We observe an increased emphasis on the principal as a leader, both as a manager and as a school professional (SA, SJ). But at the same time, we as participants in debates and co-operation with primary and secondary schools see that s/he is caught in a trap between central educational authorities (i.e., the ministry of education, science, and culture), municipal authorities, teachers, and possibly also other staff people, students and parents. (This is dealt with in somewhat more detail in the longer version of this report, see Ingólfur Ásgeir Jóhannesson, Gunnar E. Finnbogason & Guðrún Geirsdóttir 1998. We also know now that this is an important issue in the interviews, to be analysed in Work Package IV in the EGSIE project.)

Social integration/exclusion

Question 2. What ideas and categories are presented in the texts/documents regarding social inclusion/exclusion? Are these new? How so? What silences are created in this?

Equality and "heterogeneous individuals." Issues of equality receive very little attention in these documents, almost none in SA and SJ and not much in EBS. The word *jafnrétti* (equality*)* is used at times in EBS, but we found that "traditional" inequalities, such as rural vs urban, or gender and class distinctions, and "modern" inequalities, such as being Icelandic vs immigrant or homophobia, are either touched on very briefly or totally ignored. Rather the emphasis is placed on individuals all being different from each other and having different needs. The documents seem to carry the understanding that these needs can easily be diagnosed and evaluated—and the main motive for doing that seems to us to be increased efficiency. Perhaps students with dyslexia and various other disabilities receive the greatest attention as emphasis is placed on expertise (diagnosis, see above) in matters helpful for these students (EBS). Checklists concerning the contents of a self-evaluation report in SJ do not emphasise the equality of all students, where indeed such a checklist could make some difference because it would be considered to be a kind of ministry order. In short: the documents/texts avoid issues that might cause conflicts which struggles for equality usually involve. Their authors may fear that the mere mention of certain categories of inequality and injustice would lead to conflicts about the goals of education and, therefore, lead away from consensus. Disabilities and dyslexia are relatively "safe" issues to discuss in this regard; homosexuality and mother tongues other than Icelandic are probably regarded as more risky political business to talk about in such documents.

Drop-out students and gifted and talented students. We observe some concern about what will happen to students who drop out of the secondary school (EBS), and "drop-out" of students is included in the checklists in SJ. We also observe a good deal of interest in the education of gifted and talented students (EBS). We do not see any worrying as regards the standardisation of goals and the fact that the quest for making students able to compete (e.g., EBS) might harm some students or increase drop-out rates. We do not see any worries about whether the comprehensiveness of the Icelandic schools might one day fade away. We also feel that rather poorly spelled-out ideas about a smoother transition between primary and secondary schools (EBS) are there for the sake of the gifted and talented rather than for students who have more difficult times in school, since the emphasis is on students being able to finish primary school in nine years instead of ten years.

A division between academic lines, vocational education, and shorter courses in the secondary school. There are proposals to offer multiple programs in the secondary school to meet the various interests and needs of students (EBS). Neither these proposals nor their impact on integration and exclusion are explained. Further, if the establishment of shorter courses were to succeed in attracting students who currently do not attend secondary school, they might only strengthen the segregation that exists now in the choice that students have between elitist and not-so-elitist schools. These speculations certainly require more discussion and research than is provided here.

The relationship between governance and social inclusion/exclusion

Question 3. What ideas and categories are presented in the texts/documents regarding the relationship between governance and social inclusion/ exclusion? Are these new? How so? What silences are created in this?

One of the findings that we saw soon after we began our analysis was that major documents in the current conjuncture deal very little with the relationship between governance and social integration/exclusion. Their unnamed authors do not tell us much about what they expect will happen to the integration and exclusion of youth if proposed changes in management are indeed to take place. In short, we found very little discussion in the three documents/texts about the relationship between governance and issues of integration, inclusion, equality, democracy, or justice. We conclude that policy-makers tend to ignore the complexity of governance and social integration/exclusion by not addressing the relationship between them.

We believe it is an important finding about policy makers' understanding of governance that they do not address these kinds of relationships. However, we expect that their answer might be that the documents were not especially meant to deal with that relationship. They might say that the government has a special policy on gender issues that also deals with schools, that it is has passed a law allowing lesbian and gay couples the legal status of marriage, and so on and so forth. Below, we will briefly discuss the issues we could expect the documents to deal with and the issues we would like the documents to deal with.

Issues in the documents that should have been explained. We do not find a discussion about the impact of budgeting and contract management on equality and democracy (SA) nor do we find a discussion about the impact of wide-scale dyslexia testing on integration and inclusion (EBS). We do not find much discussion in SJ about the impact of self-evaluation practices on integration and inclusion, which we believe is reasonable to expect among the major factors to be evaluated. We would also like to see more discussion on what the concepts, such as democracy and justice, mean in the context of the proposed changes. Finally, we would like to see a discussion of the impact of centralised and standardised tests, an important practice in Iceland, as a way of governance. There are centralised tests in two subjects after 4th and 7th grades of the primary school; in four subjects at the end of primary school, which is to become six subjects according to the new policy (EBS).

Issues not dealt with in these documents are. Such issues are, of course, numerous. The documents do not so much address the realities of Icelandic schools, and they do not take a stance about governing practices such as streaming (*ferðakerfi*) and discipline point-systems. Streaming as a practice is spreading in Icelandic primary schools, and we could reasonably expect to see some guidance about how to use such a method, especially since the documents, in particular EBS, address the importance of adjusting the subject matter to individuals. We do not know of any other documents or directives dealing with streaming. In relation to discipline point-systems, a regulation on discipline in schools is being rewritten. Therefore we actually might soon have a document/text that would be possible to analyse in this regard. We would also like the documents/texts that we analysed to address equality-planning as a steering tool, as such policy is the policy of the current cabinet.

Construction of narrative

Stories, images, and beliefs

Question 4. What story is being presented, what is the saga? What images (e.g., commodified or corporate images) are being constructed? Are these new? How so? What silences are created in this?

What is the basic story told in these documents/texts? What images do they present? What are the beliefs they are based on? Below, we sketch the stories, based on the beliefs of those who design the documents/texts that we read.

The schools are not good enough, not effective enough. We can improve the quality of life in society with making the school better, more effective—but without using more money for schools. Schools must become more efficient for the individual (EBS) and also better in management and the use of money (SA). Self-evaluation is central in this respect (SJ).

A national curriculum can change schools. We see a strong belief in curricula making a difference in school practices (EBS, SJ). The process of improving schools, for instance using self-evaluation, is considered relatively simple (SJ). The story goes like this: If we put so much and exactly this in, we should expect this quantity and this quality out. This is an input-output model, and the belief that it is possible to control all factors of schooling is rather obvious in the documents/texts that we examined. This belief is not new; in the reform discourse and documents of the 1970s this was believed as well (Ingólfur Ásgeir Jóhannesson 1991, 1993a, 1993b, Guðrún Geirsdóttir 1996). But this is a revival of that view with even less of a critique than was found in the 1970s reform.

Contract management will make schools better, as it will with other types of institutions. Among the stories told: Well-organised state institutions and firms are among the prerequisites for increased prosperity, more efficient state operations, improved competitive position of the industries, and increased quality without increased expenditures (SA).

Self-evaluation in schools is based on beliefs rather than logic. SJ is based on several beliefs. We identified: self-evaluation has value for the quality of schooling; self-evaluation is central for professional development; self-evaluation makes it easier to adjust to individual needs; there is a common professional ground and everyone has the same goals; the principal is the leader; teachers and principals know how to conduct self-evaluation; schools can and will walk their own paths in self-evaluation; self-evaluation is not very complicated because everything will work out.

Logic/discursive construction

Question 5. What is the logic/discursive construction of the argument in the text? Are these new? How so? What silences are created in this?

The most important logic in these documents/texts is that there are things that need to change. In line with that, we can see these three documents as "gospels" regarding improving schools. What makes them appear as gospels is the way in which they are written. In none of them is there any discussion of the fact that there might be several options in what and how to change in education. And while the documents/texts are different from each other, they all present a monolithic view, a correct view, a view presenting the truth of curriculum reform, the truth of contract management, and the truth of self-evaluation.

Context

Question 6. In what context is this argument to be placed? What context does the text construct for itself? Are these new? How so? Who is excluded by these constructions?

For whom are these documents/texts written?

Enn betri skóli, the February document, is written for the public, and Enn betri skóli, the April document, for school professionals. Or at least this appears so on the surface. But on the other hand, these documents/texts may be ideological documents written for the ministry itself and a government cabinet that wishes to declare what the policy is, or—to use the gospel-metaphor—what the "word" is. Indeed, they provide us with excellent material to analyse. The other two documents, SA and SJ, are both ideological and guiding. While SA does not provide practical solutions about contract management in education, the booklet describes an ideology in such a way that a school professional and others are able to understand the expectations of the proposed budgeting reform. SJ appears as a guide, and it may well come to be used as a guide. But we would prefer not to see it used as a guide—as it is essentially ideological. The ideology of these documents can be summarised into three main points:

Consensus-building. These three documents/texts signify an interest in building a consensus about education. In the documents, education is to appear as a technical issue that professionals ought not to argue about once the goals have been determined. It is also clear that the aim of the documents is that everyone will be reasonably happy. This is achieved by assuming that the goals put forward, no matter how controversial they might be, are not controversial at all. There may be nothing new with consensus in education. For instance, the national curriculum guide for primary schools from 1989 (*Aðalnámskrá grunnskóla* 1989) was also supposed to avoid conflicts. However, times were slightly different then after the extensive conflicts in educational debates in the 1980s (e.g., Þorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, Ingólfur Ásgeir Jóhannesson 1991, 1993a, 1993b, Guðrún Geirsdóttir 1996) and the national curriculum in 1989, which did not assume consensus about everything or de-politicise all educational issues. Now consensus-building seems to be particularly aimed at de-politicising issues of equality (see Question 2) and limiting the influences of professionals on the overall goals of education (see Question 7).

Moving the discourse of the market into education. While SA is a general document that says nothing in particular about education or other specific sectors of society, it prepares the soil for the idea that everything is going to be market-steered. For example, the definition of goals in a national curriculum is vital for the possibility of measuring results. And SJ, while not overtly in a total quality management tradition, is certainly capable of preparing the soil for more market-related neo-liberal ideas and practices. EBS, with the emphasis on clearly defined objectives in each subject matter, does so as well.

Standards and certification. One aspect of market-steering is the interest in setting standards that we see in these documents/texts. Standards that would make Iceland and Icelandic students better able to compete in the international market, and standards that would make certification and the methods of total quality management possible (EBS, SA).

Habitus (citizen-state-world relations)

The construction of subjects

Question 7. How does the text construct its subjects? How are teachers and learners constructed, individually and relationally? Are these new? How so? Who is excluded by these constructions?

A narrow concept of expertise and the split between political goals and professional objectives and methods. Teachers are not especially mentioned in these documents/texts, but what is said and what can be interpreted by the silence is that teachers are supposed to teach towards the goals and objectives defined in the national curricula (EBS). They will exercise certain freedom in selecting the objectives and the methods, especially, but not as much freedom as is defined in the current curriculum guides for primary and secondary schools (*Aðalnámskrá grunnskóla* 1989, *Námskrá handa framhaldsskólum* 1990). This narrows the notion of expertise, as the teachers themselves are not to be the chief players in the self-evaluation process in schools; rather, principals are to lead the self-evaluation projects and external evaluators are to inspect the model of self-evaluation used in each school (SJ). In the document on contract management, it is specifically stated how important it is to distinguish between political goals and professional (read: technical) methods in making the goals into reality (SA). In SJ, teachers also fall under the definition of any "staff" (*starfsfólk*) rather than under a notion of professional faculty. This would not necessarily have been significant ifthe same tendency has not been observed in the curriculum design documents according to Guðrún Ebba Ólafsdóttir (1999), the vice chair of the Primary School Teachers Union (Kennarasamband Íslands), who complains that this term usage undermines the professionalism of teachers.

Tension between the transfer of power to schools through self-evaluation and the inspection of self-evaluation methods. New legislation requires primary and secondary schools to conduct self-evaluation (Lög um grunnskóla 1995, Lög um framhaldsskóla 1996), and every five years the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture is supposed to inspect methods and models that are used for the evaluation. We observed a tension in these documents/texts about this process: on one hand principals and schools are to assume a greater professional authority and responsibility, but on the other, the inspection process and the financial power of municipal authorities undermines that authority. Municipal authorities might not approve of self-evaluation methods that are expensive, which would require teachers to be active in that process.

Pupils as independent, responsible and strong individuals. The goal of building up independent, responsible and strong individuals is to be acquired by the appropriate challenge in learning. Emphasis is placed on competition (EBS) and rationality of the subject in making choices (EBS, SA). Reading through EBS, this is one the most overt points in its rhetoric.

A consumer approach. Pupils are seen as consumers and "their rights" are emphasised in a focus on the individual and an emphasis on strengthening her or him. Standardisation is seen as a service to consumers; testing students is seen almost as accurate as quality control of products.

State—Civil Society

Question 8. What do these texts imply about the transition of the State and Civil Society (and the relation between them)? Are these new? How so? Who is excluded by these constructions?

The transfer of primary schools (finance and management) from state to municipal authorities. The transfer is consistent with the view, apparent in the three documents, that decisions should be moved closer to the consumers/clients. (We are not researching this now; in Section III, we address the importance of further research of the discourse about this event.)

The responsibility of each school to show results. Schools should show results in an effective use of funds (SA), and they should show that the school practice in general is effective (SA, SJ). Contract management is a case in point (SA). The learning of students should be evaluated by using goals and objectives that politically appointed committees have determined (EBS).

Contract work and vouchers. Wherever and whenever possible, contract work based on competitive biddings should be used to acquire the best price and the most effective use of money (SA). Further, the use of vouchers should be attempted if possible (SA). The interest in vouchers and private schools has been growing since the 1980s (Guðmundur Heiðar Frímannsson and Þorvarður Elíasson 1986).

The minister of education and his interests. The Minister of Education, Mr Björn Bjarnason of the Independence Party, has been using a hands-on approach these four years he has been in office (elections are in May 1999). He is interested in making his mark on education and seems to work hard. As far as concerns these particular documents/texts, he only appears in EBS. He is also known for responding to messages sent to him via e-mail or by other means (for the purposes of this project, we have not yet checked if he actually responds to any e-mail message). He also has his own website where he publishes speeches and reflects on what is taking place in society (Björn Bjarnason 1999.) We view this in light of the hands-off approach of ministers for a long time, but this must also be seen in the quest for distinguishing between political goals and professional objectives and methods (see above).

Globalisation and the flow of ideas

Question 9. What do these texts imply about the relationship between its subjects (including the State and Civil Society) and the world-society/globalisation? Are these new? How so? What silences are created in this?

These documents/texts do not say or imply much about globalisation. However, we have been able to identify ideas about contract management as imported from Denmark and elsewhere, and we see references to concerns about the international competitiveness of Icelandic youth (EBS). Finally, we see discussions about the international competitiveness of Icelandic firms (SA).

But as we prepared the final version of the summary report, Bourdieu's *Acts of Resistance* (1998) came into our hands. In this book, consisting of articles and speeches from the 1990s (mostly 1995–1998), and subtitled *Against the Tyranny of Market,* he identifies the rhetoric of the ruling forces in Europe, be they represented by right-wing or socialist politicians. This rhetoric is to depoliticise political discourse by emphasising efficiency, the inevitable logic of the market, the necessity of flexibility in the labour market, and the importance of reducing costs and public spending, especially the taxes of employers. This rhetoric, in part identical to the rhetoric on efficiency and contract management in the documents/texts that we studied, is, in his view, used in the quest to get rid of social programmes.

While Bourdieu does not identify education in this context as a social programme, he also speaks about the foci on techniques and expertise, competence and merit, intelligence and individualism to be emphasised in educating a modern labour force. Those issues are similar to those that we found in the Icelandic documents/texts. Furthermore, the Icelandic documents/texts emphasise the urgency in these improvements in schooling so that the nation can continue to prosper, an urgency that is not intended, however, to overrule the necessity to keep a secure lid on public spending, especially state spending.

Towards precisely defined objectives and measurable results. Discursive trends in current reform in education in Iceland

While the discussion in this document is drawn mostly from three documents/texts with minimal references other material, the stories and beliefs of progress and denial, the images portrayed—*the saga*—emerges as a legitimating principle that stands in contrast to the views that are silenced here, in particular humanism and child-centeredness that we do not see at all and equality and democracy that we do not see often. By a *legitimating principle* we mean a historically and socially constructed pattern of discursive themes, created in social and political struggles over what counts as capital *á la* Bourdieu. Legitimating principles are not the logical or epistemological coupling of ideas; such principles are created in struggles where players in the field of education, especially in the field of educational reform, adopt ideas as social strategies in order to gain the upper hand in symbolic debates (see e.g. Bourdieu 1990, Ingólfur Ásgeir Jóhannesson 1991, 1993b). Therefore, this is a story of how certain themes in educational discourse are being converted into capital, how new and old themes are being disconnected and reconnected into a discursive web.

So what is the story here? Which discursive themes did we find that can be read as legitimating principles? We found the separation of technological and child-centred, democratic views that had been discursively coupled in the Icelandic reform discourse since the 1970s (Ingólfur Ásgeir Jóhannesson 1991, 1993a, 1993b). The technological view, in this case, was characterised by the belief in defining goals and objectives as well as in efficiency, and still is. The technological view is now also characterised by the belief in self-evaluation and an increased emphasis on efficiency in education. In addition, the technological views of the mid- and late 1990s are coupled with "market themes," for instance emphases on competition, individualism, budget reform, more effective use of money, the pupil as a consumer, and the laws of the market. This new discursive tendency is also characterised by talking about education as consensus-building by emphasising that matters are technological (it is easy to change schools, it is possible to find special needs with powerful diagnosis of such needs, etc.) and that politicians, not professional educators, should determine the goals. This new tendency is also characterised by an emphasis on management, for instance in the emphasis on the role of the principal, both in contract management and self-evaluation. All the above is presented as inevitable and necessary. This does not mean that there is no mention of equality or democracy in the documents/texts that we have analysed; we did, for instance, find such views in *Enn betri skóli* and *Sjálfsmat skóla*. But they are very weak, compared to the technological views and market views that we just described. As we said above, we did not find much of humanistic and child-centred views in the documents/texts.

There are other stories here as well. The most important one is the story that schools have not been good enough to support an increased prosperity of the Icelandic nation. It is argued that the schools have indeed been good but they must become better if we are to prosper as a nation. We also know of an interest in an increased emphasis on mathematics and the natural sciences, not often mentioned in these documents. An interest in mathematics and science education came forcefully onto the scene in late 1997 when the results of the so-called TIMSS study were released (e.g., TIMSS 1999). They showed that Icelandic teenagers were below average in mathematics and natural sciences among the nations where the study was conducted. These results were released after the curriculum revision had begun and may have had the effect of strengthening the arguments of the inevitability of the curricular revision. The discursive theme of mathematics and natural sciences, however, must be observed mostly somewhere else and related to the themes here.

Discursive themes construct legitimating principles In order to identify the legitimating principles in Icelandic education (reform) in the late 1990s, we need further research. While the interview study for EGSIE (see a Work

Package IV report, to appear later this year) will provide important data, we believe that a further documentary study, especially on the discourse concerning the transfer of financial and management responsibility of primary schools from state to municipal authorities (see Section I), is necessary for a full-fledged discursive analysis of educational debates and legitimating principles in the 1990s. In the debate over the transfer we might find different spectra of principles for and against the transfer, although the consensus-building approach was also in place as criticism of the transfer was not particularly appreciated. The opposition to the transfer, however weak and non-extensive, was, for instance, based on grounds of justice, equality and concerns that small municipal communities would not be capable of providing services in the same way as larger or richer communities. Other important places to look for discursive themes and how they fall into legitimating principles are, of course, the national curriculum for primary and secondary schools and the emphasis on its various subject matter, as well as a new curriculum for early childhood education also under revision.

To repeat the preliminary findings here: We found discursive themes towards technologising education by making, for instance, governance and integration into technical rather than political issues. In contrast, we found little about that educational goals that involved political debate. Even the issue of integration is not discussed as if it were a political issue, as we expect would have been done in similar documents during the 1970s and 1980s; it is discussed as a matter of utilising expert knowledge to create more efficiency in education. At the same time as the content of education is not considered political, the role of schools to increase the prosperity of the nation is emphasised more than humanism, democracy, equality, or justice. Moreover, the current cabinet is interested in increasing the efficiency of state operations and to move them towards a "free-market" environment. A final note is to say that mapping this discourse, i.e. mapping the social field of education in Iceland in the 1990s, has just begun. This summary report and the more detailed draft report suggest some important outlines.

Note

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6. Portugal

António Nóvoa, Natália Alves and Rui Canário:

Discourses on educational policy in an uncertainty context

Introduction

In this report we have synthesized results of an analysis of a set of documents produced by the Ministry of Education, which are considered as representative of the guidelines that have directed recent educational policy. This analysis aims to contribute to an understanding of current educational policies in the light of the relationship between the social inclusion/exclusion phenomena and the modes for the governance of the educational system. Also, this analysis is restricted to a period that comprises the last four years and started when the Socialist Party (center-left wing) ascended to power after a long cycle of governance by the Social-democratic Party (center-right wing) from the middle 80's on. Our analysis focused a set of seven documents that can be divided into two subgroups according to two criteria that have guided the selection.

Our first criterion consisted of choosing texts which expressed the major options for the educational policy. A first document set was then gathered, comprised of some texts that tend to assume a double function; on the one hand, to disseminate the governmental intended actions in the field of education and on the other hand, to contribute to building a consensus around what these very documents see as the social function of school. In this context, they define the symbolic and material areas of the governmental action, both through the way they are worded and through the objectives they express and the action lines they defend. This first set of documents includes: *Educational Pact for the Future,* Lisbon, ME, 1996 (D1)*; Education - Changes for the Future*, Lisbon, ME, 1996 (D2); Framework *for the Basic Education Policies B Education, Integration, Citizenship,* Lisbon, ME, 1998 (D3); *Framework for Secondary Education Policies B Develop, Consolidate, Guide,* Lisbon, ME, 1997. (D4)

A second criterion was an attempt to clarify the way educational policy options address concerns about inclusion/exclusion processes both in the social and in the school fields. Another set of documents has been gathered that has as its common denominator the creation of conditions for the accomplishment of compulsory education, by preventing school failure and dropouts, in a direct way, and social exclusion, in an indirect way. Among these measures, we have selected the creation of the *Alternative Curricula* for difficult and at-risk populations, *Program for the Education for All* (PEFA), and the creation of *Priority Intervention Educational Territories* (PIET), one of the socialist government's emblematic measures, based on the assignment of resources on the basis of positive discrimination criteria. The following documents integrate this second set: *Alternative Curricula for Basic Education B guidebook*. Lisbon, ME/Deb, 1997 (D5); *Synthesis report on Priority Intervention Educational Territories*. Lisbon, ME/Deb, 1997 (D6); *Education for All, a change in construction*. Cadernos Pept 2000, 1, 1993 (D7).

From the Reform to the Educational Pact

Portugal's adhesion to the European Union, fulfilled in 1986, inaugurated an economic, social and political cycle that continues today. It is marked by continuity in what concerns government's major guidelines, independent of the political alternation phenomenon which materialized with the Socialist Party's access to power in October 1995. This continuity is also evident in the field of educational policies. The attempt by the current Ministry of Education team to establish some demarcation from the recent past is thus restricted to the use of a new language that aims to introduce some *rupture in the discursive field* which is simultaneous with the *continuity in the action field*.

This rupture in the discursive field is built around the idea of educational reform, which has represented the leitmotiv and structuring axis of previous government's educational policy since 1986 (Afonso, 1997; 1998.) Built up in the 80s as a remake of the 70s Great Reforms, and centrally conducted according to vertical strategies requiring both legal coercion and an I&D empirical-rational model, the Educational Reform resulted in educational and political failure (Canário, 1993.) This explains today's main reform leaders and present governors' attempts to build a critical withdrawal from it. Moreover, this long reform period has been marked, mainly in its final phase, by a deep chasm between the Ministry of

Education and some of the main actors in the educational system, namely higher education students and teachers.

Although present in the whole set of the analyzed documents, it's in the *Educational Pact for the Future* (D1) that the ministerial team's desire to build a new style for the educational policy orientation is most evident. With the idea of consensus as a structuring axis (to which the desired educational field pacification corresponds), it is seen both in the announced end of the reform, on the one hand, and in the rhetorical appraisal of the value of dialogues and public discussions, on the other hand.

Public discussion of governmental policies and, more precisely, of its educational policy is inscribed in what Codd (1988: 237) considers to be

"a part of what is called the democratic process. Through this process people come to believe that the policies of the state are the result of a public consent rather than necessary forms of social control".

The idea of educational policy as the result of a public consent is clear in the Minister of Education's words when he publicly presents the *Educational Pact*, which is defined as:

> "(_) a set of ideas and propositions aimed at getting an agreement, on a political and social level, on the main problems of education and training in Portugal: a pact to bind protagonists in the educational process, as a fundamental proposition to pacify education which has long been a battle field, and to embody the major options and strategy guidelines for the educational policy".

The idea of a pact as a pacifier is presented as a counterpoint to the warlike metaphor that expresses a certain concept of educational action from which this ministerial team wishes to withdraw. The idea of education as a social field where distinctive, and often antagonistic, interests are confronted, is opposed by one where education is presented as a national consensus generating one. Therefore, the main message of the Educational Pact, also present in the other analyzed documents, is one of conflict-exempt, therefore consensual, educational action field. This is precisely where ambiguity most shows in these texts. By denying the conflict-ridden character of the educational field, they convey an image of reality that ignores the fact that the state interests, teachers interests, pupils interests, families interests, local authorities interests, and enterprises interests are often not the same. In this sense, the way they are worded minimizes the social conflicts and enhances the collective compromise in the creation of an idea of universal public interest.

The idea of education as a social field where distinctive, and often antagonistic, interests are confronted, is opposed by another where education is presented as a national consensus generating one. It is in this context that the announced end of reforms can be understood. Both in the fields of education and training, time for global and instant reforms belongs to the past (D2). The announced end of reforms as a way to establish *rupture in discourse* and *continuity in action* refers to, and is complemented by the emphasis on the participation concept. This concept is built on the idea that education is a national ambition and simultaneously everyone's concern. In this sense, to justify the need for the Educational Pact, the following has been written:

"This agreement is necessary to ensure change in the social attitude toward educational issues. It is also necessary for the harmonization and cooperation of different partners in a mission that is supposed to be national and for the continuity of policies" (D1).

In turn, the introduction of changes at the curriculum level, namely in what concerns pupils' assessment procedures, is presented in the following terms:

> "The revision and re-configuration of curriculum and the re-thinking of pupils' assessment regime, both in basic and secondary education, led the Ministry of Education to promote a wide debate. The debate involved teachers, professional and scientific associations, parents, entrepreneurs, universities and other civil society's entities, in order to find consensual and properly sustained solutions" (D2).

The fundamental goals for an action strategy were to acquire a new credibility for the governing action and to restore a new social confidence in schools without giving the production of changes. This strategy regards these goals both in a continuity line, in substantive terms, and in a rupture line, in methodological terms. Proposed changes can now be defined as opposite to the previous methods, in which a dualistic frontier between the true and false changes would be found: True changes can only be gradual, participative, supported and evaluated. (D2) This expression synthesizes all the critiques repeatedly stated by the teachers during the period of reform .

Modernizing and democratizing: the difficult construction of legitimacy

Education has been presented as one of the political priorities of the socialist government and it has been qualified as its main passion (an expression inspired by Tony Blair.) The justification for this priority and the defense of the proposed orientations appear in this set of documents as organized around two main key-ideas. One of them, faithful to the principles of the human capital theory, focuses a linear causality relationship between education and development. The other one, drawn from an educational concept that goes back to the western ideals of progress, emphasizes the role and importance education plays in people's value as human beings and in the reduction of inequalities.

The former argument is built around a *modernization logic* (Correia; Stoleroff and Stoer, 1993) the relevance of which is based on a black diagnosis of the Portuguese educational situation, where four main issues can be distinguished.

The first issue is based on acceptance of the western belief in the idea of progress (Rist, 1996) having the developmental model as a reference; its high point having been the thirty glorious years that mark the post-war period. On the other hand, it is also based on the critical acceptance of a linear and positive relationship between schooling and development. With these two assumptions as its basis, the claim to education as an indispensable requirement to development is justified. Take the following assertion as an example:

> "Education and training configure political priority areas in Portugal. Their quality depends, to a large measure, on the country's sustained development. Improvement of our education system is not a sufficient condition but an indispensable one and highly favorable to our social development" (D1).

A second issue, which derives from the first one, is the evident slowness in educational terms, which is mainly found in the low levels of instruction and correlating low levels of professional qualification.

"Portugal has grown very slowly in the educational field. Even today it continues to be the European country that has the lowest instruction standards in the adult population. That is why government assigns a high priority to education and training with special emphasis on basic education - because a good beginning is a life long value" (D3).

> "In Portugal, about 70% of the adult population does not go to school beyond the 6th grade and 81% do not go beyond the 9th grade. Much of the juvenile population that has recently entered the labor market validates this probability" (D4).

Qualifications of human resources appears to be the educational system's central mission. Its success will be derived from the secondary education level, where promotion of competitiveness and employment generating dynamics are presented as its desirable, complementary and congruent results. Yet, this congruence has not been confirmed by empirical evidence in industrialized Western Europe. In this sense, the claim is for:

> "(...) promoting the long-term development of qualification standards of the Portuguese population through the expansion of training programs with the capacity to generate new employment opportunities and reinforce employers' preferences for highly qualified professionals" (D4).

The educational slowness is also manifest in the obsolescence of knowledge and competencies found in the educational system due to the rapid technological advances in the so-called knowledge society. The lack of a successful basic education capable of providing the elementary competencies required by the knowledge society is particularly worrisome to the Portuguese (D3). Intervention in the educational field tends to assume reactive and defensive postures as a response to changes in economy and society at the world and European levels, particularly due to rapid scientific and technological innovations. This third issue affects not only basic but also secondary education:

> "Knowledge society's cultural and technological changes and the new challenges in the labor force lead not only to a need for a new function and role for secondary education, but also to new modes for the organization and distribution of training resources to satisfy the needs of an expanding system and significantly enrich traditionally precarious curriculum areas" (D4).

A fourth issue refers to the Portuguese view of education. Based on statistical indicators, it deals with the systematic comparison between Portugal and the most developed countries in the European Union and OECD. For instance, when comparing children's school life span on admittance to the educational system, by the early 90s that life span was of about 10 years in Portugal, while in countries such as Spain, Holland or the USA it was already close to 15 years or more. (D4)

The comparative approach, based on statistical indicators linked to the claim for supra-national assistance, constitutes an important argument which justifies the fundamental educational policies, by providing them with some social and political legitimacy. Here is the way it is defined in an official document from the Program for the Education for All:

> "The Program for the Education for All follows the recommendations from World Conference for the Education for All that took place in March 1990 in Jomtiem, under the auspices of UNESCO, Unicef, Pnud, the World Bank and The OECD Ministries of Education Conference that took place in November 1990, in Paris" (D7).

The strategy of systematically falling back upon external referents is readily understood in the light of an attempt to give greater legitimacy to the educational policy measures the state proposes. In this sense, systematic international comparison serves a double objective: Whereas it confers visibility to the distance that separates us from the central countries, it also defends the guidelines for education which are necessary to meet European integration and development requirements.

A second argument is developed around democratization *logic* marked by a certain amount of voluntarism and is directed to three distinctive guidelines for action.

The first guideline points to overcoming the slow and unfinished character of mass school construction in Portugal (Canário, 1997.) In this context it is possible to understand that the *Program for the Education for All* assumes as its main goals to ensure the fulfillment of a successful nine-year compulsory education, access to a twelve-year school education , development of an extended school culture, and prevention of early school dropouts (D7). Such goals are grounded in a conception of basic school offer that can be characterized by:

> "(...) a very slow approach to a kind of basic education that, although lasting for 9 years, hardly overcomes what twenty years ago was considered as the indispensable minimum to accomplish basic school learning, on the one hand, and to inhibit its regression, on the other hand" (D4).

A second guideline for educational activity is found in a struggle against social and school inequality, based on an idea that the relationship between school and society can be considered as drawn from the golden years of the developmental post-war period: "Development of democratic societies requires educational policies that can contribute to people's appraisal, to the reduction of social inequality and to human progress." (D3) This struggle against inequalities has as its central reference the concept that in the same period has supported an optimistic view of the school expansion phenomena, which is the concept of equality of opportunities whose importance is strongly emphasized in the educational pact:"

> "The major aim of the educational process is development and global education for all, under conditions of equality of opportunities, with respect for each one's difference and autonomy" (D1).

As systematically re-affirmed in the whole set of texts, the present aim is to ensure the construction of a school for all. Fulfillment of this goal bring together both social policies and educational innovation-inducing initiatives, has equality of opportunities as its inspiring principle, and ensures identical probabilities to soften birth and social condition contingencies. (D3) The call for equality of opportunities as a key-component of an educational system that is regulated by meritocratic mechanisms recognizes the fragility of the educational system in that it is still unable to absorb a wide percentage of children and youth coming from illiterate cultures. (D3)

The third guideline for educational action, though directed to contradict social and school inequalities, should not be confused with the previous one as it is not grounded around the classical concept of equality of opportunities, but around a concept whose quick shifting to slogan has burdened it with imprecision and ambiguity - the concept of social exclusion (Dubar, 1996; Dubet, 1996.) This concept, which emerges from a context where progress in the democratization of the educational system is evident and constant, necessarily expresses a different reality from the one that gave rise to school and equality issues (in the 60s and 70s.)

The importance attributed to the struggle against exclusion in current discussions on educational policy only becomes comprehensible to the extent that it names a new social phenomenon: the social duality phenomenon (Dubet and Martucelli, 1998.) This phenomenon originated in the centrality of the world labor crisis (Kergoat *et al.*, 1998), in the urban issue and in the specialization of social problems. The crisis of political commitment that has supported the articulation between capitalism and democracy - a commitment materialized in the welfare state (Santos, 1990; 1998,) is on the basis of the co-existence of apparently contradictory phenomena: an increasingly democratic access to higher levels in school education is simultaneous with increasing awareness of social inequalities; the fast technological progress and the increase in productivity, in spite of generating employment, happens to be linked to structured means of mass unemployment in Europe; the exponential increase in the capacity to produce wealth pairs with the emergency of extreme poverty in the heart of the wealthy countries. This picture is the result of a certain *modernization* process that places new problems on the educational systems.

The current dropout and school failure phenomena in Portugal (whose standards are much more favorable than they were a decade ago) is related to induced social exclusion (D7), or when educational measures are laid down specifically directed at the individuals and groups marked by the social exclusion processes (D4,) by falling back on principles based on equity, what really matters is to contradict the socially negative effects of modernization and to not proceed with the 60s and 70s egalitarian aims. Only in this context can educational policy measures be understood, in the context of a palliative strategy, such as the creation of the Priority Intervention Educational Territories, inspired in the ZEP (Priority Education Zones,) on the basis of the assignment of resources grounded in positive discrimination criteria. It is also the case of the creation of alternative curricula in basic education, which although explicitly classified by the ministry as a last resort (that is, as a necessary evil) are presented this way:

"Therefore, the creation of an alternative curriculum assumes a social dimension because the situation that has given rise to it goes beyond school. The main concern lies in the attempt to prevent children and youths who otherwise would be less qualified from the social-cultural point of view from dropping out" (D5).

Both identified arguments do not carry the same weight in the governmental rhetoric. The first one imposes itself as the dominant logic since it expresses the concept (common to European decision-making) of functional subordination of the educational policies to an economic rationale (Nóvoa, 1996), the development of which is grounded in the productivity, competition, and employment trilogy. If this trend continues to evolve, the exclusion-struggling policies in the educational field will also tend to acquire a highly important palliative character, thus being used as a complement to an exclusion-producing modernizing logic. This issue assumes a singular specificity in the Portuguese case, both because the effects of the mass school crisis happen to be felt even before its construction is concluded and because the educational policy discourses tend to play a central role in the difficult construction of the state's legitimate policies.

Teachers and pupils: actors' subjective constructions

The documents under analysis convey images and assign roles, mostly implicit, to the actors that directly or indirectly interfere in the educational process. Regarding teachers concerns, we see ambiguity present in the way teachers have been regarded in the period of educational reform (they were regarded simultaneously as the reform guarantees and the main obstacles to putting it into practice). The conflict-softening policy leads, in this set of documents, to a positive emphasis on the teachers' role, thus being attributed a privileged role as change agents. They are repeatedly defined either as highly qualified professionals or innovative steam engines (D3, D4) and therefore required to perform tasks that need periodic renewal of their competencies (D3, D4) or they are seen as highly qualified professionals and pedagogic innovation impellers (D2).

The symbolic importance attributed to teachers is linked to the complexity of knowledge required for them to perform their function. This is accompanied by a systematic discourse on the appraisal of the teaching professionalism. Therefore, the acknowledgment of the essential and irreplaceable role of teachers on behalf of teaching and learning improvement (D1) is found in a set of measures that comprise both professional qualifications (the licentiate degree as the basic graduation for kindergarten and basic and secondary education teachers) and the revision of in-service and further education (alongside their articulation with career progression) (D2, D3 and D4) and the institutionalization of a system for the accreditation of initial teacher education programs. (D3)

In an implicit recognition of teachers' most persistent claims, a plan to improve teachers' working conditions has been announced. The intention is to increase teachers' stability in schools, (D2, D3) to favor teacher stability and fixation in isolated schools and in pedagogical projects that need the continuity of the teachers involved. (D2) Reference to professional team activity (in the context of school or of educational territories) forwards teachers' new functions and working modes in a perspective of diversification of professional profiles. These are repeatedly stressed and referenced to promote " (...) diversification and specialization, as linked to a higher and wider pedagogical competence in the interdisciplinary sense and of knowledge integration" (D1). This diversification and specialization are supposed to be linked to the development of broader and interdisciplinary teaching capacities. In this context further education methodologies are appraised, susceptible to:

> "Ensuring teachers' aptitude to perform functions relevant to good school functionality, namely in the fields of special education, administration, guidance and pedagogical supervision" (D2).
>
> "Discussion of teaching profession's appraisals appears systematically linked to teachers' increased responsibility" (D2).

The combination of both of these dimensions is clearly highlighted in the following assertion:

> "In fact, teachers and their sense of professionalism are the cornerstone of curriculum flexibility, educational projects and juvenile education, which promotes such competencies as creativity, openness, and the development of a critical and scientific spirit" (D4).

Discourse on the reinforcement of teaching professionalism (D2) appears linked to reinforcement of control mechanisms exerted on teachers. This includes control over education programs (which have never been so minutely regulated), over the reorganization of teachers' work time, involving the definition, and respective control of work times (including teaching and non-teaching components (D2), and over the announced intention to regulate such important dispositions as those concerning performance evaluation, thus creating a regime for the evaluation of teaching activity based on the merit incentive. (D2) In the same document teacher performance evaluation is regarded as a keystone in the construction of quality and presented as an instrument to prevent indifference and easiness in one of the uncommon (indirect) critiques of teachers' action.

Teaching profile overview, as suggested by the documents under analysis, can be synthesized by highlighting the articulation between the rhetoric that reinforces autonomy, diversification of roles and responsibility and the reinforcement of control mechanisms over the professional activity. This can be viewed as a kind of *autonomy under tutelage* (Canário and Correia, 1998). For some members of the teaching staff this paradox is due to a tendency to dilute the traces of the liberal profession that have characterized the teaching activity according to the secondary education paradigm. Recognition of the increasing complexity of tasks required from teachers is also seen as the result of an emphasis on a prevailingly technical view of this profession. This is congruent with a dominant concept on teacher training from an instrumental and adaptable perspective.

In the analyzed documents and in what concerns pupils, school is presented as an institution that produces individuals according to a threefold dimension, based on a set of values that are supposed to be inherent to school: the *personal* dimension, the *citizen* dimension and the *professional* dimension. These three dimensions are present in all the documents although with different weights. Therefore, the presence of the first two dimensions is stronger in the documents related to basic education, whereas the professional dimension is stressed in the document that lays down specific guidelines for secondary education, which is supposed to:

> "(...) promote youths' solid scientific, technological, humanist and aesthetic education that should constitute the basis for their education and integration in active life, and to mobilize resources to be made available for youths to accomplish their fundamental learning, their social integration and economic autonomy in the specific context of the promotion of an effective professional integration following secondary education" (D4).

The education of an autonomous citizen capable of effectively adapting to the most diversified social contexts (D3) is tightly linked to personal development objectives that require the construction both of school itineraries adapted to pupils' interests and learning rates (D2) and of learning situations based on knowledge and concepts the pupils already know from their previous experience.(D7) Symbiosis between both these dimensions is clearly and synthetically stated in the *Pact for the Future*, when it proposes the:

"Development of actions directed to favor children and youths' personal and social development, namely in what concerns education towards citizenship and reinforcement of national identity, towards solidarity and towards democratic European dimension values" (D1).

What is proposed in these documents is an idealized view of the pupil, the idea of what s/he should be on the basis of the operating quality of the educational system. This idealized view (ideally, pupils are good) strongly contrasts with the proposed view of the concrete pupils when referred to in the context of at-risk groups comprised in the alternative curricula and in the context of the school populations (and respective families) from the so-called priority intervention areas. In both cases a negative reading is dominant, where pupils become the problem due to their personal and social attributes. As an example, the groups of pupils in alternative curricula are typified this way:

"(...) youths showing very problematic behavior and learning characteristics and at risk of dropping out of compulsory education for different reasons (familial, economic, psychological lack of personal motivation, etc.)" (D5).

On the other hand, the synthesis report on Priority Intervention Educational Territories' first year typifies pupils' school problems based on a range from which the following are stressed: absenteeism, delinquency, ethnic-cultural heterogeneity, insufficient social integration, lack of interest on learning, bulling, psychological and emotional misfit. (D6) Implied in this picture is the acknowledgment of a deficit in the socialization functions to be developed by the families, which are supposed to deliver to school pupils who are ready to learn. The educational role of families is almost exclusively referenced in relation to difficult groups, conveying the idea of their educational incompetence. The Priority Intervention Educational Territories document displays them in several ways:

"Large families, floating family aggregates, non-assumed paternity, mistreatment, negligence, delinquency, analphabetism, low expectations regarding school, alienation from school affairs, precarious hygiene and health conditions, low self-esteem, low future perspectives, communication insufficiencies" (D6).

School: constructing new regulation modes for the educational system

Discovery of the phenomenon of school as a social organization has marked investigation and educational intervention since the 80s (Nóvoa, 1992; Canário, 1996.) The trend to move from a thought centered in a school system to another one centered in a schools' system is highly present in the analyzed texts, which stress the need to place school in the center of all concerns. (D1) This should be done by regarding it either as the core of the educational process (D1, D3, D6) or the privileged place for the educational activity and the educational policies' center. (D2) School has been assigned the role of being the instrument for the promotion of equality of opportunities (D2, D4) and is regarded as the institution that can and should ensure everyone's learning success. (D3) Such a school is supposed to operate not only as a professional community (D4), but also as an educational community in the process of developing the competence to mobilize the whole community in the materialization of a specific educational project." (D3)

This demanding perspective, which restores an optimistic discourse on school, supposes the rethinking of the role the state has played (Charlot, 1994; 1998,) which tends to evolve from the concept of *educating state* to that of *regulating state*, where the arbitrage function emerges. Therefore, the Educational Pact proposes:

> "To redefine the role played by the state by favoring a stronger participation of the different social instances in the decisions and accomplishment of the educational policies, at all administration levels. This will ensure a dynamic equilibrium between the central functions of devising, arbitrage, regulation and identification/correction of asymmetries "(D1).

This redefinition implies a process to decentralize educational policies, with the respective decentralization of power to local entities (namely schools and local authorities.) Thus central political decision making entities will play a role of incitement and normative regulation. This announced *transference of competencies* (Barroso, 1996) is preceded by the *transference of problems*, as a response to the increasing ungovernability of the educational systems. So the school called upon to strengthen its capacity to *act locally* in the promotion of success and prevention of dropouts. (D7)

From the analysis of the texts, the aim to build new modes of regulation for the educational system can be systematized around three fundamental guidelines: policy *territorialization*, *diversification* of offer, and *inclusion* policy.

Three dimensions can be distinguished in the territorialization policy. The first dimension, drawn from concerns on the *rationalization* of management modes, refers to the need to promote and support diversified methods of integrated resource management. Conformity to local singularities is favored (D1) evolving to modes of articulation among institutions, at the local level, which allows for an integration of management of educational offerings (D4). Measures directed to rationalize the school network (both rural schools closing and promotion of school grouping under management aims) follow this line of concerns. It emphasizes collaboration and articulation between schools of different school levels placed in the same geographical area. The aim here is to profit from efforts and human and material resources that can promote pupils' educational and school success (D6). The emphasis on the importance of evaluation processes, namely schools evaluation and the systematic reference to the quest for quality (Barroso, 1997) are also found in this rationalizing and technical line.

A second dimension is the concept of *participation* and as its keyword the idea of partnership. The claim is for the promotion of the construction of local structures for participation, articulation between projects, resources and interventions (the creation of local educational managing bodies by local initiative is given as a positive example.) This implies promotion of the reinforcement of partnerships that involve schools, entrepreneurs and scientific and professional associations (D2). This orientation assumes schools' capacity to strengthen their relationship with other institutions and to be open to the participation of the different social, cultural and economic agents (D4). This is based on the establishment of partnerships with parents, expressed both in their effective participation and co-responsibility in school administration, and in mechanisms of social educational voluntarism (D3). The claim for participation therefore has direct influence in school management, as it is expressed in the Educational Pact:

> "Improvement of the school management models that favor the participation of teachers, parents, students and local institutions in school administration, from the institutionalization of protection mechanisms to social voluntarism that might allow for a true participation of parents in the education of their children and in school life" (D1).

A second broad orientation concerns diversification of educational offers, which presumes the capacity to manage an inevitable tension between *uniformity* and *heterogeneity*. This diversification does not question the existence of national curricula grounded in the definition of a core set of learning and competencies (as pleaded in the documents). The relevance of diversification is set upon both basic education:

> "Basic education must be grounded in a national curriculum that explicitly defines pupils' fundamental competencies supported by the syllabi. At the same time, the singularity of regional and local contexts requires the introduction of specific curriculum nuances, which implies a clear commitment to the diversification of educational answers, to curriculum flexibility in all basic education cycles, and to the reinforcement of continuity between school levels and cycles" (D3).

And upon secondary education:

> "(...) to support the diversification of education results in a way to ensure the conformity of the resources to the needs of local and regional development and to ensure new educational and training programs both in regular schools and in other training institutions and enterprises, whenever aiming to introduce curriculum specifications adapted to the labor market" (D4).

A third broad orientation refers to concerns on *inclusion*. In the whole set of analyzed documents there is scant reference to social exclusion or inclusion issues. The word exclusion does not present a precise meaning. It is either inscribed in a declaration of intentions of universal character or it appears linked to school exclusion, and to prevention of failure and dropouts. The first feature can be exemplified with the assertion to avoid exclusion is all democratic societies' commitment (D3). The second assertion is to meet the challenges of democratization and quality by preventing failure and early dropouts and by combating exclusion (D2).

The way the word exclusion is used in these texts is close to what is commonly known as a *topoi* (Amossy and Pierrot, 1997). *Topoi* are banalities that on being universally accepted become truths that do not need to be questioned. They are broad principles that support reasoning but they have no reasoning. The one who uses them never identifies himself as the author. They are usually presented as being the object of a consensus in the community. In this sense, the word exclusion belongs to a more vast set of expressions in which some are prevalent, such as quality of education, knowledge society and life long education and training. These expressions create a generalized agreement around a meaning that, on being accepted as singular and universal, does not need to be explained. Therefore, as it is not necessary to define exclusion, neither is it necessary to explain who are the individuals or groups marked by the social exclusion processes nor the situations of exclusion, as can be inferred from the following transcriptions:

"To insure a basic education for all, considering it as the beginning of a life long education process, implies particular attention be paid to social exclusion situations" (D3).

> "To promote and insure the conscription of secondary education in a broad coherent lifelong education program for all citizens, by adopting the measures that stimulate the acquisition of know-how and how-to-do and competencies required to live an effective life, specifically addressing individuals and groups marked by social exclusion processes" (D4).

Yet, on seeking to analyze the relationship between governance and social inclusion and exclusion, these latter words acquire a greater specification. In the texts under analysis, the relationship between governance and social inclusion and exclusion is based on the equity issue. From this perspective, educational policy is regarded as a way to establish a set of measures aimed at promoting different categories of pupils to higher equitable access to the education system, their *inclusion* being thus promoted. The proclaimed measures focus on three distinctive domains: curriculum, school welfare, and special education. In the document sets the guidelines for basic education, the need is claimed to evaluate and develop curriculum adaptation experiences, either those whose main goal is to prevent exclusion and dropouts, or those aiming to insure an intercultural education (D3).

In the same document the importance of school welfare (the one that congregates a wider range of measures) is stressed: School welfare plays a fundamental role in the materialization of equal opportunities in the access to education and learning. (D3)

As explained in the same document, the role played by school welfare in the prevention of possible exclusion factors, is to adapt the school transport network and the respective schedules; insure free attendance to compulsory education; generalize school meals programs and to award grants (for secondary education pupils), according to the principle of positive differentiation to students that reveal school merit, through analysis of family economic conditions (D4).

Finally, special education is presented as the other prevailing field for state intervention, where government proposes: To develop the organization of educational support resources to children and youngsters with special needs, aiming to insure their full integration in school life (D3). Youngsters with low incomes and students with special educational needs are the target populations of measures directed at inclusion.

School and exclusion. A complex and paradoxical relationship

The official discourse on educational policies we have been analyzing returns an image of trust in the school institution (envisaged as normative socialization institution, functionally articulated with society) to which an optimistic view is added, linked to a concept faithful to the principles of the human capital theory. Today's educational problems can neither be equated in a context of *certainty* (the century's first half school) nor of *promises* (the development and equality producing school, in the 50s and 60s,) but in a context of *uncertainty* that derives from three main factors.

The first of these factors refers to the changes that happened on the European labor scene, which, through mass unemployment and increasing uncertainty and insecurity, striking increasingly wider sectors of the population, revived the mass vulnerability phenomena once considered overcome by the Fordist virtuous circle. The second factor is a growing urban crisis (Van-Zanten, 1991; Delard and Van-Zanten, 1993) that is manifest through the spatial concentration of the social problems that tend to acquire ethic outlines due to the labor crisis. The third factor concerns school changes linked to normal socialization institutions' general crisis and to their functional articulation with a national identity.

The analytical fragmentation of school, which some do not regard as an institution (Dubet and Martucelli, 1996), refers to the coexistence of contradictory logics of action to which only social actors can give any sense as a result of their own experiences. Moreover, the growing lack of employment is connected to the fast depreciation of school diplomas, which are thought to be simultaneously indispensable and increasingly unprofitable. This is the situation that justifies a growing social awareness towards the so-called social exclusion phenomena, where all the statistical indicators attest to an unequivocal democratization of school.

This means that current educational problems cannot continue to be equated on the basis of a mental utility built in the time of certainty and promises. And it is exactly what happens when the discourses on equality of opportunities merges and overlays the discussions on (social and school) exclusion . In the Portuguese case, this anachronism is understandable in light of a social and historical situation in which some traces of an accelerated modernization (mainly after joining the European Union) co-exist with the persistence of post-modern traces in the social and educational fields (illiteracy, qualifications structure, kindergarten education low cover rate). This duality expresses the singular character of a society (Santos, 1993) whose semi-peripheral stand is expressed both through knowledge of the welfare state without having built it and through facing the effects of a mass school crisis, before having concluded its construction. It is in the context of this conflicting duality between a modernization logic (that produces exclusion) and a democratization logic (doomed to struggle against the undesirable effects of progress) that it will be possible to understand the rhetoric and legitimate nature of the officially constructed discourse on educational policies.

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7. Spain

Miguel A. Pereyra and Pablo J. Castillo:

The official discourse of social integration in education in Spain. A text analysis report

Introduction

In a recent report issued by Eurydice on the primary concerns, aims and perspectives approached by the different educational systems of the European Union, we find important information provided by the governments about the practices and debates currently found in their countries. In general, the governments quote the titles and main content of documents written by specially appointed committees. They are texts such as those analyzed in other chapters of this volume by the partners of the EGSIE project. In the case of Spain, the information uncovered on those matters is significantly referred to in the list of the main legislation approved in recent years (see Eurydice, 1999).

In fact, it seems that Spain is not following today's common pattern of steering educational reforms through the creation of texts based on narratives used to convey the official discussions to the public. In Spain we still found a traditional pattern of using the legal texts as the "debate documents." In the past, this tradition has had a distinguished history and the texts of the preambles of laws and ordinances have been widely touted as convincing literary texts. Currently preambles play a less significant role in society (see Lawson, 1988, and Rodino, 1990; and Fogen, 1995, for the history of preambles.)

In our report we will analyze laws and legal documents most closely related to the primary issues of the EGSIE project. First, however, we will introduce a context for this analysis in which we locate the elaboration, the uses and, most important to our current research project, the empirical material needed for a further comparative analysis.

The Context

This introductory part of our report is aimed at providing a very general guide for the reading of the present report on the text analysis of today's official discourse on education governance and the related questions on social inclusion/exclusion of youth. As general conclusions, further documented in our research on the Spanish educational system (see the Spanish educational system report in Sverker Lindblad & Thomas S. Popkewitz, (Eds), *Education Governance and Social Integration and Exclusion: National Cases of Educational Systems and Recent Reforms*, Uppsala Reports on Education 34, 1999, p. 171-203), we emphasized the following:

First, the Spanish educational system is obviously affected by factors originating in the society itself, a society formed by a restructuring of the state after a period of transition to democracy framed by a pattern of "transition by transaction" (Sharpe, 1986, 1987: 525-48.). This form of transition was socially constructed on the basis of an agreement which would not contain anything objectionable to any political group, in particular all that related to the authoritarian past of Franco's regime. Simultaneously, all groups could develop their own political programs without any need to alter the political consensus signed in the democratic Constitution of 1978. In this way, the transition was based on intra-elite negotiation taking place in private and not in public arenas (opposition party leaders negotiated terms of the transition with the outgoing authoritarian leaders). Party masses were utterly ignored up to the point that this consensus model institutionalized elite behavior in all parties that downplayed internal democracy, mass membership or policy considerations. Like all Spanish political parties, the PSOE (the Socialist Party) renounced the goals of mobilizing and revitalizing civil society, accepting "provisional democracy rather than risking destabilization" (Sharpe, 1999: 103.)

Based on the consensus model a quasi federal state (*Estado de las Autonomías*) was drawn up after 1978 with a measure of power to be shared between what is colloquially used as "the state" (avoiding the use of the term "nation") and its constituent autonomous regions or "nacionalidades" (a new political term created for that purpose.) Accordingly, meso-governments were institutionalized by a pattern of decentralization by centralization (the central state would reserve the right to provide the main framework for the organic laws of the states, and the other laws as well.) The autonomous regions and the old historical territories of Spain (in particular Catalunya and the Basque Country, were considered more than a region) institutionalized a centralized pattern of political governance with very little room for local control and power (see Pérez Díaz, 1993).

Thus we see a very old European country, formed as a nation in the early Modernity under a pact between different kingdoms and territories ruled by different monarchs. This lasted until the marriage of the so-called Catholic King Ferdinand and Queen Isabelle, who ruled their own land separately, maintaining their own laws and particularities in a way of constitutional tradition paired with a religious faith, still open to the influence of a cosmopolitan humanism. During the eighteen century a change of dynasty from the Austrian to the French Bourbon changed the grounds of politics and narrowed the scope of civic engagement in the construction of the future nation-state and the creation of a community of citizens. While preserving the old essential elements of the "Teleocratic state" founded during the Austrian dynasty, the new monarchy enforced an enlightened absolute monarchy with a limited and partial secularization of the state and society in a context of a defined administrative centralization and territorial uniformity (see Pérez Díaz, 1998a, 1998b.) After a convulsive process of creation of the modern and modernized state during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, partially following the European liberal pattern, a bloody civil war ended with the creation of an authoritarian and highly centralized and uniform state ruled by General Franco from 1939 to 1975. In order to maintain its precarious legitimization this new state strategically introduced political and social changes. At the same time, it became a highly expansive period of the Spanish economy and saw the beginnings of the modern welfare state.

Simultaneously the degree of importance given to the semantic power of democratization and participation, as well as the importance given to the change from a centralist state to an almost federal one, was central to both the political debate and the structuring of regional social and political life. It is believed that it is important for the educational system to be open to the reality of a decentralized region. But it is also believed that the educational reaction to this reality must be moderate, keeping in mind the interests and values of the system itself. To more completely understand this context we must remember that due to the historical configuration of the Spanish state, education has played a minor role in the social construction of an *imagined national community* (Anderson, 1991) to the point that education is not a real national issue in Spain. Obviously this is more meaningful if we compare the Spanish centralized state with the historical case of France. Outstanding and recent historical works on the national identity of Spain, written by foreign scholars, pay attention to historical facts such as the use of the national flag which only began to be shown in public institutions at the beginning of this century (see Boyd, 1997.)

In fact, during the past two decades, a good deal of ambitious reform was set in motion within the consolidated development of a modern welfare state in Spain. However, there are doubts as to whether these reforms will succeed since they depend on specific, detailed financing. Without sufficient resources changes, such as the implementation of a comprehensive compulsory educational system for the Spanish population from the ages of 6 to 16 years old (that includes a new vocational education pattern), appear today to be highly rhetorical. This is especially true when we consider social indicators that show that Spain has the highest percentages and rates of adult and youth unemployment in the OECD and the European Union. Thus it seems understandable that the reform movement of the recent past has saturated the public with all sorts of images and slogans. This fully consolidated discourse is constructed by educationists and citizens through the development of *cliché* or *topoi*, generally accepted truths and social and cohesive goals that need to be questioned. It is a kind of rationalized discourse that follows the same pattern found in other European nations, as shown eloquently in the Portuguese report included in this volume.

The new educational system designed during the 1983-1996 governments of the Socialist Party (PSOE) was constructed in a comprehensive or integrative pattern. However, it appears that sufficient attention has not been given to social inequalities and the degree to which they are present in Spanish society. Obviously, this severely limits comprehensive schooling, although we hardly find a body of important research on the matter that goes beyond the rhetoric of *social redemption* which is itself the previously mentioned logic. Moreover, a dual system of compulsory education has been forming in the Spanish educational system constituting a major source of social exclusion, i.e. that which is established by the system itself outside of other sources of social exclusion such as ethnic origin or gender. As an example, the public school network is progressively being socially devalued against the increasing development of the officially granted private schools. More than 30% of the compulsory school population (in the most developed autonomous communities of Catalunya and Basque Country it is near 50%) attends these kinds of schools, most of which were formerly fully private institutions run by religious orders. Currently, the fully private schools that do not have their teachers on state payrolls are attended by about 4% of the school population.

Interestingly, the already mentioned dual system in compulsory education is becoming socially accepted. The public schools are becoming the schools of the socially and economically disadvantaged children from the *lower* classes, while officially granted private schools are attracting the middle-class school populations. We understand that this increasingly common process is one of the major sources of social exclusion. We then come to better understand social exclusion as a result of interactions – and their deficiencies and distortions – among various classes of social actors in different locales, rather than as a final state or condition for assigning categories of population.

The Text Analyses

Educational matters are still not a national issue in Spain. For that reason it is extremely difficult to find documents that present to society the educational topics and their reform as objects of public debate. In this sense, the whole process of reform that started during the 80s was socially informed through the publication of different official brochures distributed in schools and teacher education centers. Those brochures, in general printed in a small format, were mainly used to advertise the main lines of reform, and, what is the most important in a reform, its new language or vocabulary.

Later, when the Government decided to introduce a systemic reform of compulsory education, in order to have a public debate they printed in 1990 a *Libro Blanco* (White Book) of educational reform. This book, very luxuriously edited, which was accompanied by other similar and heavy large books containing the different plans for curriculum development, in-service teacher education and new programs in educational technologies. All these books were rapidly prepared and printed by the Government in order to present the image of a well thought out and designed real reform. However, the Social-democratic government, which had recently experienced a general strike (which announced the political decline of the Socialist Party), ended following the same pattern used by Franco's officials in the last years of his regime. That is when they introduced a general reform of the educational system as a powerful strategy of compensatory legitimization (Weiler, 1983.) Following the previous liberal and progressive tradition, Franco's parliament, in 1970, approved a *Ley General de Educación* (General Law of Education.) This new law laid the foundation for the modern educational system of Spain. Ironically, the regime ended without introducing the changes needed to grant the substantial funds required to implement the ambitious reform, and very soon it was blocked or reformulated.

During the 90s, it was almost impossible to find official documents specially printed to debate educational matters in the public spheres. However, in the recent years such documents have begun to appear in a very subtle way. We see a certain trend to engage "civil society" in the introduction of educational change, implemented by way of debate forums or platforms that establish the foundations of a new educational pact supported by diverse social actors (parties, unions, parents' associations, ONG). If this emerging tendency has a connection with the political agendas inspired by holistic tendencies, we can affirm that a true discursive density does not yet exist in the scarce documents of this nature which are beginning to spread in Spain. Last year two of these documents were presented: one that could be considered *progressive*, supported by parties and unions of the traditional Spanish left and associations of parents, foundations, ONG and another for *intellectual groups* (university professors), managers and foundations related to the conservative party, which is currently in power. The first document has only four pages; it is really only a catalog of measures or proposals for educational change. The second, presented in December 1998, was only remarked upon in the most important conservative newspaper in Spain (*ABC*). Months after the document was presented in Madrid, nothing is known about it, and it has became just an old daily newspaper news item.

In this context, the type of official texts issued on education in Spain are fundamentally of a legal type. In a few instances other text types can be found. Due to the specific situation of education in Spain, these other texts are the most widely disseminated. We have analyzed seven documents, five of which are legal texts. The process of educational reform in which Spain has been engaged since 1990 is one of decentralization. This process requires the autonomous communities to sum up the educational policies that apply in their territory due to uncertainties in the main law on which the whole educational reform is based (LOGSE or Organic Law of General Ordering of the Educational System.) For this reason the autonomous communities are continually creating legislation, in the context of their responsibilities, to complete the educational reform. The whole documentation on which these proposals are based is legal texts.

The EGSIE project in Spain includes three autonomous communities: Andalusia, the Canary Islands and Galicia; of these, Andalusia is the main source of this study and the one that provides the most documents. These three autonomous communities share a series of socio-economic problems that make them very interesting subjects of study for our project.

The official documents we analyzed cover a range of years, are related to the reform process, and are focused on the main themes and concepts of our project. In addition to regional official documents, we have included the political platform of the *Partido Popular*, currently in power, as an example of the introduction of a new rhetoric of social integration and related matters in the public spheres. Of interest is the fact that even though the analyzed texts cover a period of nine years and were produced by governments with different political orientations, there are no important differences in content, approach, or social and political aims.

Most import for us is how these official documents are material for public debate. In fact, they are presented to society as real substance to be debated. They are presented in regulatory form: a short preamble plus the content of each item or regulation to be approved by the government or the parliament. This is particularly the case for Andalusia, which in the last years has printed thousands of brochures with the title Documento a Debate, a "Document for Debating," stamped on the cover. According to the figures we have received from the regional government of Andalusia, 50,000 copies of a brochure related to a new decree that would regulate the students' behavior in educational centers (a highly controversial issue during the past school year), were printed and distributed in all educational centers, trade-unions, and parents associations. The text of the recent Law of Solidarity in Education, analyzed in the present report, had a print run of 10,000 copies.

What is offered to the public in these brochures is the possibility of changing the official text to amend the regulative text. The brochure does not contain anything related to the main ideas, concepts and goals of the reform; it is a boring and dull text (there are no attractive pictures, no use of color.) The changes any social actor might want to propose are to be sent to the government in order to be considered for a change. Thus what the government received are lines or requests such as "please when you say this (...) in item 3, you should say this (...)" "Clients" are allowed to choose how they are going to be regulated! We should note that the poor quality of these brochures, printed by the thousands, is not just a matter of normal governmental administration. It is a common practice of the Andalusia government to print high quality luxury brochures for all sorts of other reports. Sometimes these other reports contain dubious figures but they are good material for creating the image of a modern society in a rapid and positive transformation.

The Analyzed Documents

In our analysis it becomes evident that chronology is important and therefore the documents are presented in the order in which they were published. This way we can make it possible to monitor the possible advances or setbacks that have taken place inside the reform process. We will focus on the analysis categories of governance and social inclusion/exclusion. The documents are:

- **LB:** *El Libro Blanco para la Reforma del Sistema Educativo* (The White Book for the Reform of the Educational System), 1990.
- **LOGSE:** *Ley Orgánica de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo* ('LOGSE') (Organic Law of General Ordering of the Educational System), 1990.
- **OEAN:** Real Decreto de Ordenación de la Educación de los Alumnos con Necesidades Educativas Especiales, (Real Ordinance of Ordering the Education of students with Special Needs) 1995.
- **OACD:** *Real Decreto 299 de Ordenación de las acciones dirigidas a la compensación de desigualdades en educación,* (Real Ordinance for Ordering the Actions Directed to Compensate the Inequalities in Education) 1996.
- **LAI:** *Ley de Atención Integral a los Menores.* (Law of Integral Attention to the Minor). (Canary Islands Government), 1997.
- **LAS:** *Ley de Asistencia Social, Protección Jurídica, Económica y Social de la Familia, la infancia y la adolescencia* (Law of Social Attendance, Legal, Economic and Social Protection of Family, Childhood and Adolescence) (Galician Government) 1997.
- **LDA:** *Ley de los Derechos y la Atención al menor.* (Law of Rights and Attention to the Minor) (Andalusian Government) 1998.
- **PDR:** Proyecto de Decreto de regulación de los derechos y deberes del alumnado y normas de convivencia en los centros no universitarios. Documento a Debate (Ordinance Project of Ordering the Rights and Obligations of Students, and Ordering the Norms of Living together, at Non-University Centers. Document for Debating). (Andalusian Government) 1998.
- **LSE:** *Ley de Solidaridad en la Educación* (Law of Solidarity in Education) (Andalusian Government) 1999.

- **EO**: *La España de las Oportunidades* (The Spain of the Opportunities) (The political platform of the Popular Party currently in power) 1999.

Constructing Narratives

In order to offer productive evidence for further analysis in the development of the EGSIE project, we focus the present report on the main questions to be theoretically addressed. These questions are:

- What are the stories of progress and its denials?
- What are the images, myths and sagas that will place people into a collective whole?

The idea that the important changes Spanish society has experienced in the last twenty-five years have propitiated greater freedom and greater democracy as well as an increase in the standard of living during the development of a welfare state, is related to the improvement of education in these texts. Education begins to be seen as a necessary instrument for the achievement of cohesion and social integration and, consequently, as necessary for the fight against social inequalities and social exclusion. In fact it is laid out that the educational system will promote mechanisms both to prevent this and to compensate for it.

> "In the advance and development process of Spanish society, education is configured as an important instrument to motivate the fight against inequalities. The Educational System has to set up the mechanisms that contribute to compensating for inequalities (...)" (LSE).
>
> "Without education and quality for all, it is not easy to find opportunities to get new employment (...)" (EO).
>
> "Education is the patrimony of people, the element that decreases marginalization and therefore, a good that should be promoted and impelled" (EO).
>
> "Education allows advances in the fight against discrimination and inequality, either for reasons of birth, race, sex, religion or opinion, or of family or social origin (...)"[i] (LOGSE).

As can be appreciated in these paragraphs extracted from diverse texts, society puts trust in education, in its power to transform the society and to endow people with the necessary capacities to be successful in society. In Spain there is a wide belief in the value of education, above all the social stratification effects produced by the educational credentials.

Another prominent idea is the perceived necessity for a continuous increase in the quality of education and the decrease of school failure. With the introduction of a new comprehensive education system it is believed that we can improve the quality of education. It is in this new context (the comprehensive school) in which better answers to the different educational necessities are offered. Quality is configured as a high-priority objective in the reform process that started in Spain in 1990.

> "To assure quality of teaching is one of the fundamental challenges of the future education" (LOGSE).
>
> "Now, the great challenge for the near future is to improve substantially the results and quality of education" (EO).
>
> "The improvement of educational quality is something inseparable from any reform process and it is attributable to diverse social, materials and personal factors" [*] (LOGSE).

Another idea that sustains the reform process is what is termed "the main objective" – and that is lifelong learning. The education system is supposed to teach the pupil how to learn for him or herself. It is desired that the pupil be self-sufficient in learning and that he or she does not stop learning for the rest of his/her life. It is something demonstrated by an active student, who takes the reins of their own learning.

> "Education will acquire a more complete dimension (...) it will transcend the vital period in which has been bounded, (...) being alternated with the labor activity" (LOGSE).
>
> "The educational system will have as its basic principle lifelong learning. To such effect, it will prepare the students to learn for themselves and it will facilitate for adult people their incorporation to different teachings" (LOGSE).
>
> "Education of the XXI century has to think about as central objective to prepare the citizens to live and to deploy all its potentialities in a changing and innovating world. The students will have to *learn how to learn* throughout their life" (EO).
>
> "Teachers will have as a main function *to teach to learn*, providing students the basic and instrumental knowledge that allow them to be inserted in the society"(EO).[†]

"Ahora, el gran reto para el próximo futuro es mejorar sustancialmente los resultados y la calidad de la educación".

"La mejora de la calidad educativa es algo inseparable de cualquier proceso de reforma y es atribuible a diversos factores sociales, materiales y personales".

[†] Original text: "Asegurar la calidad de la enseñanza es uno de los retos fundamentales de la educación del futuro".

"Ahora, el gran reto para el próximo futuro es mejorar sustancialmente los resultados y la calidad de la educación".

"La mejorar de la calidad educativa es algo inseparable de cualquier proceso de reforma y es atribuible a diversos factores sociales, materiales y personales".

The classic transmission of knowledge becomes a more participant form of learning for the student. It is not only to impart knowledge to the pupil but for the pupil to discover this knowledge due to social reality in which we live. Given the constant change in employment it becomes necessary that pupils will be able to recycle knowledge throughout their lifespan.

The last aspect we will comment on here is related to the equality of opportunities and the integration of pupils with special needs. The principle of equality of opportunities has influenced the reform process in such a way that it has propitiated the disappearance of specific educational centers for students with special needs. The integration of these students into ordinary classrooms and the setting up of compensatory measures have been solutions derived from the principle of equality of opportunities.

"The legislative development in educational matters of the last decade has established the bases of an educational system which is able to make reality the principle of equality of opportunities" (OACD).

> "The principle of equality of opportunities in education implies that in order that inequalities and social or cultural disadvantages do not become educational inequalities, a series of positive measures of compensatory character need to be instituted" (OACD).
>
> "The attention to pupils with special needs will be governed by the principles of normalization and integration in ordinary centers" (LOGSE).
>
> "Schooling in special education centers will only be carried out when the student's necessities cannot be assisted in an ordinary center" (LOGSE).[*]

The integration of pupils with special needs has been and continues to be a problematic topic in the Spanish educational system. This integration has been left in the hands of teachers who, in many cases, are not prepared to attend to a pupil with those characteristics, and this has caused many problems. Even with the introduction of support teachers, classroom teachers feel they are not able to appropriately attend to the rest of the students and to those that have special needs, because the latter require much more supervision than the rest of the pupils.

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[*] Original text: "El desarrollo legislativo en materia educativa del último decenio ha sentado las bases de un sistema educativo capaz de hacer realidad el principio de igualdad de oportunidades".
"La atención al alumnado con necesidades especiales se regirá por los principios de normalización e integración en los centros ordinarios".
"La escolarización en centros de educación especial sólo se llevará a cabo cuando las necesidades del alumno no puedan ser atendidas en un centro ordinario".

Constructing the Subject

Following our previous approach, our analysis will be focused on the answers to the following questions:

- What are the concepts of the individual?
- What are the silences in this construction of habit?

A "minor" is defined as an individual who, in current society, is at constant risk and should be protected in order to develop appropriately. Youth is seen as a social community threatened by social exclusion, particularly due to problems in finding employment.

> "It constitutes a phenomenon of our days (...) that boys and girls and youth require some care and special attendance in what refers to their health, physical, mental, moral and social development (...) This special guardianship finds its foundation in the fact that childhood constitutes one of the most vulnerable communities in our society (LAS).
>
> "The youths are the community more threatened by social exclusion" (ESO).*

Regarding the student, a new concept enters the scene with the reform starting in 1990. He/she is an individual who, at any moment, can need assistance and, for that reason, it is no longer necessary to label any students as students with special needs. The special needs are understood as a continuous interval in which all students can be found. Beginning in 1996 we see a change; the labeling of pupils starts again. This new tendency is justified by saying that to solve the problems of the students it is necessary to know their needs and to apply specific measures for each type of need.

In 1990:

> "The fundamental change is in the concept of special needs. All the students may need along with their schooling, diverse help of a personal, technical or material type to achieve the best educational outcomes" (LB)
>
> "What special education should do is not to establish categories among people" (L.B).
>
> "The fundamental objective is to favor the integral development of all students, independent of the problem that presents" (OEAN).*

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*Original text: "Constituye un fenómeno de nuestros días (...) que los niños y las niñas y los jóvenes requieren unos cuidados y asistencia especiales en lo que se refiere a su salud, desarrollo físico, mental, moral y social (...) esta especial tutela encuentra su fundamento en el hecho de constituir la infancia uno de los colectivos más vulnerables de la sociedad".
"Los jóvenes son el colectivo a quien amenaza con más fuerza la exclusión social".

Since 1996:

> "Two main labels of pupils are those to which the compensatory action is directed: the schooling pupil and the pupil with problems following normal schooling" (OACD).
>
> "The compensatory educational actions contemplated in the present law are directed to the pupil with special needs who is deprived of: physical, psychic, cognitive or sensorial disadvantages, (...) belongs to a traveling family, (...) to be in situation of cultural disadvantage, (...) belongs to ethnic minorities in unfavorable situation" (LSE).
>
> "The school population that presents special needs has very different educational needs. It also requires a different educational answer" (LSE).[†]

Another consideration is the distinctive role of the family. On one hand it is the basic nucleus in which minors develop their personality, it is the basic institution on which the society is structured and it is where attitudes, values and basic behaviors are established. But on the other hand the family can be a focus of problems and it should be protected in a legal, social and economic way by the powers of the state. Changes, which have taken place in the last years in the traditional pattern of family, are also reflected in the rhetoric of texts. It is assumed that new family patterns are part of our reality and that all of them have a place in society.

Family as a basic nucleus:

> "(...) to consider the family like one of the basic structures of social integration" (LAS).

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[*] Original text: "El cambio fundamental está en el concepto de necesidades educativas especiales, todos los alumnos pueden precisar a lo largo de su escolaridad de diversas ayudas pedagógicas de tipo personal, técnico o material para conseguir los fines educativos."
"La Educación Especial lo que en realidad debe procurar es no establecer categorías entre las personas".
"El objetivo fundamental es favorecer el desarrollo integral de todos los alumnos, independientemente del problema que presenten".

[†] Original text: "Se establecen dos categorías principales de alumnado a las que van dirigidas las acciones compensatorias: el alumnado escolarizado en centros y el alumnado con problemas para seguir la escolarización en los centros".
"Las acciones de compensación educativa contempladas en la presente ley se dirigen al alumnado con necesidades educativas especiales derivadas de: ser discapacitados físicos, psíquicos, cognitivos o sensoriales, (...) pertenecer a una familia itinerante, (...) encontrarse en situación de desventaja socio cultural, (...) pertenecer a minorías étnicas en situación desfavorable".
"La población escolar que presenta necesidades educativas especiales tiene necesidades educativas muy distintas entre sí. Ello requiere respuesta educativas también diferenciadas".

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> "The family is like a structuring nucleus of the society (...)" (LAS).
>
> "The family institution is essential for the development and well-being of society" (EO).
>
> "In families attitudes and basic behaviors are developed (...) and it is our main means of socialization" (EO).[*]

Family as a focus of problems:

> "It corresponds to all the public powers to look after the correct exercise of the rights of family, to remove the obstacles that impede or hinder their exercise and to adopt the necessary measures to prevent abuses" (LAS).
>
> "As high-priority preventive resource support programs for families develop, they should be dedicated to cover the basic necessities and to improve family environment" (LAS).
>
> "(...) actually exist more cases of family units that, for diverse reasons, suffer special marginalization risks or social disadvantage" (EO).
>
> "These realities claim new support politics for families" (EO).
>
> "School support units will be directed to pupils who cannot follow a normalized schooling process for reasons of travelling work of their family" (LES).[†]

Changes in the family pattern:

> "Family has experienced deep transformations in the context of social and cultural changes of our time. New family patterns are part of the reality of our society" (EO).[‡]

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[*] Original text: "(...) considerar a la familia como una de las estructuras básicas de integración social".
"La familia como núcleo vertebrador de la sociedad (...)".
"La institución familiar resulta esencial para el desarrollo y bienestar de la sociedad".
"En la familia se desarrollan las actitudes y comportamientos básicos (...) y es nuestra principal vía de socialización".

[†] Original text: "Corresponde a todos los Poderes Públicos velar por el correcto ejercicio de los derechos de la familia, remover los obstáculos que impidan o dificulten su ejercicio y adoptar las medidas necesarias para prevenir abusos".
"Como recurso preventivo prioritario se establecerán programas de apoyo a la familia destinados a cubrir las necesidades básicas y a mejorar el entorno familiar".
"(...) cada vez existen más casos de unidades familiares que, por diversas razones, sufren especiales riesgos de marginación o desventaja social".
"Estas realidades reclaman nuevas políticas de apoyo a la familia".
"Se constituirán unidades escolares de apoyo dirigidas al alumnado que por razones del trabajo itinerante de su familia no pueda seguir un proceso normalizado de escolarización".

[‡] Original text: "La familia ha experimentado profundas transformaciones en el contexto de los cambios sociales y culturales de nuestra época. Nuevas formas de familia forman parte de la realidad de nuestra sociedad".

Governance and Social Inclusion/Exclusion

In this last part of our report, our questions are the following:

- What is the relationship between systems of governance and systems of inclusion/exclusion?

We will present in a brief way the changes that have taken place in the Spanish educational system during the reform process and that affect in some way the topics of governance and social inclusion/exclusion.

As fundamental change, the selective teaching system is exchanged for a comprehensive one. The obligatory education is increased by two years. The non-compulsory pre-school education acquires great importance. It is legally established as an educational level that may possibly be compulsory in the future.

The LOGSE says:

> "The pre-school education will have a voluntary character. Public administrators will guarantee the existence of enough educational places to assure the population's schooling" (LOGSE).
>
> "Educational administrations will develop the pre-school education" (LOGSE).*

Vocational education is also reformed. In Spain this educational modality has traditionally had little social prestige. It has been considered the place to which those that were not worth much time were sent. It was a very premature selection because, before the reform pupils entered this level at just 13 or 14 years. Now with the introduced changes, in the framework of a compulsory comprehensive system, we have two levels in vocational education: intermediate degree and superior degree. To receive the first degree the pupil has complete the compulsory education period and to receive in the superior degree the pupil had to have studied, apart from the compulsory education, two courses of non-compulsory high school. As it can be seen, the selection of the pupil is thus retarded by two years.

"To study the intermediate vocational education the pupil it is required to have the title of graduate in compulsory secondary education"(LOGSE).

> "For access to the superior vocational education it will be necessary to have a non-compulsory high school title" (LOGSE).*

---

*Original text: "La Educación infantil tendrá carácter voluntario. Las Administraciones Públicas garantizarán la existencia de un número de plazas suficientes para asegurar la escolarización de la población".

"Las Administraciones educativas desarrollarán la Educación Infantil".

Another aspect to comment on is the decentralization of the control of education. Spain is reconfigured as a state of autonomous communities and has reformed its system of power by granting more authority to different autonomies. In the case of education, the control formerly exercised by the Ministry of Education now goes to the different education councils of the autonomous communities. At the same time the trend has also been to endow more administration autonomy to the educational centers (in a curricular and economic way), as well as to endow more power to principals. Democracy in the centers has been also reinforced, giving a new impetus to the school council, the organ that controls the center's administration. Let see some ideas:

> "To assure the equality of all Spaniards to the right to education, the government establishes a minimum curriculum which contains the basic aspects to teach. Educational Administrations, respecting such teachings, will establish the curriculum of the different levels, stages, cycles and modalities of the educational system"(LOGSE).
>
> "The autonomous communities have to play a decisive part in the task of complete the design and to assure the implementation of the reform"(LOGSE).
>
> "With a more decentralized educational understanding, one that is more related to the next context, the local administrations will acquire more authority." (LOGSE)
>
> "Centers are to be accorded the pedagogic autonomy that allows them to develop and complete the curriculum in the framework of their educational programming" (LOGSE).
>
> "Educational administrations will encourage pedagogic, organizational and economic autonomy of centers and they will favor the teachers' teamwork" (LOGSE).
>
> "Educational administrations will exercise managing and steering function in the educational centers with measures that improve preparation and performance of principals" (LOGSE).[†]

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[*] Original text: "Podrán cursar la formación profesional de grado medio quienes tengan el título de graduado en educación secundaria". "Para el acceso a la formación profesional de grado superior será necesario estar en posesión del título de bachiller."

[†] Original text: "Para asegurar la igualdad de todos los españoles ante el derecho a la educación se atribuye el gobierno la fijación de las enseñanzas mínimas que son los aspectos básicos del currículo. A su vez las Administraciones educativas, respetando tales enseñanzas, establecerán el currículo de los distintos niveles, etapas, ciclos y modalidades del sistema educativo".

"A las comunidades autónomas les corresponde desempeñar un papel decisivo en la tarea de completar el diseño y asegurar la puesta en marcha de la reforma".

Still, with all these changes, the reform has not taken the step of creating intermediate forms of administration such as school districts or the introduction of community in the administration of schools.

Finally it is necessary to comment that in reform there also exists a wide interest in increasing the quality of education, a concept frequently used in most of the discussions to justify the reform processes. Having achieved the population's total schooling, now its only justification is the improvement of quality.

Although usually when we speak about quality we do not know what precisely we are talking about, quality of education is a concept whose significance is taken for granted. The Spanish reform has tried to sum up the factors that increase the quality of education, and they are seven: Qualification and faculty's education; educational programming; educational resources and the managing and steering function; innovation and educational research; educational and vocational guidance; educational inspection; evaluation of the educational system.

One of the results of this search for quality is the creation of the educational counselor (*orientador* escolar) in the secondary education schools. In addition, new compensatory measures and programs of social guarantee are in place, mainly focused on those pupils who do not achieve the goals of compulsory education.

Table 7:1: Summary of Findings

	The Spanish Educational Reform Process (1990 - On Going)

"Atendiendo a una concepción educativa más descentralizada, y más relacionada con el entorno próximo, las administraciones locales cobrarán mayor relevancia".

"Se reconoce a los centros la autonomía pedagógica que les permita desarrollar y completar el currículo en el marco de su programación docente".

"Las administraciones educativas fomentarán la autonomía pedagógica, organizativa y económica de los centros y favorecerán el trabajo en equipo de los profesores".

"Las administraciones educativas favorecerán el ejercicio de la función directiva en los centros docentes mediante medidas que mejoren la preparación y actuación de los equipos directivos".

Education Governance and Social Inclusion/ Exclusion	• A new educational system based on a comprehensive school pattern is created (compulsory education from 6 to 16 years). • The non-compulsory pre-school education acquires more importance by legally constituting an educational level (childhood education). • Democracy is promoted at the school level giving new impetus to school councils. • The managing and steering function at the school level is reinforced, but in fact it is very harmed due to the Spanish teachers' professional context (they are tenured civil servants not legally accountable). • The reform of vocational education is planned to overcome the old focus of premature pupil's selection. • Decentralization is established both as a political process in the new construction of the state under the basis a mesocratic form of organizing or controlling power which avoids middle or local form of decentralization and social power distribution. • Integration of the pupil with "special educational needs“ in ordinary schools is fomented. • Compensatory education and programs of ”social guarantee” are introduced for school failures. • To increase the "quality of the education" as a concept profusely used in the public discourse in an interchangeable way. • The figure of the educational counselor (*orientador escolar*) is created in the secondary education schools as an important innovation inside the mark of a compensatory educational politics.
Habitus or"Habitusor" Constructing the Subject	• The reform started with the goal of not labeling students at risk, who were gathered under the term "special educational needs". • The labeling of students begins earlier. • Different labels for the different pupil groups with support necessity were created, establishing specific measures for each group. • The student is conceived as a subject who may need some type of help at any time. • All the students should have the same educational opportunities. • The family is conceived as the basic nucleus for developing the personality of the "minor". • The family is sometimes the focus of problems; it is intend to lean on. avoid those problems. • The 'minor' in the current society is in constant risk and he/she should be protected to have an appropriate development. • The person is conceived as a free, prepared and responsible citizen: citizen vs. individual who does not participate in society. • Youths are the community more threatened by social exclusion.

Constructing Narratives	• Big changes in society have propitiated greater freedom, democracy and increase of living standards that improve education. • Education is a necessary instrument to fight against inequality and social exclusion by using mechanisms to prevent and to compensate. • Continuous increase of the "quality of education" as a result of the institutionalization of the new comprehensive system of schooling. • "Equality of opportunities" for all the communities of students. • *Integration* solves the problems of students with "special educational needs". • The main goal of educational system is "to learn how to learn" in order to develop the autonomy of students as citizens. • Participatory democracy in educational centers is though as a powerful tool for improving the 'quality of education'. • Subjects are excluded themselves by their lack of effort and of results. • Education is the fundamental bases for a new and dynamic society are the growth of employment and of the 'quality of education'.

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8. Sweden

Lisbeth Lundahl:

A New Kind of Order: Swedish Policy Texts Related to Governance, Social Inclusion and Exclusion in the 1990s

Introduction

The Swedish education reforms from 1945-1975 were aimed at making secondary and higher education accessible to all children regardless of social class, gender, economic and geographic background. National equality was seen as essential; no matter which municipality or part of the country the child came from, he or she should obtain an education of good and equal quality. The big reforms, which essentially concerned the organization and structure of the school system, were initiated from the central level, and their implementation and local school work were governed by the state through a number of different mechanisms, e.g. detailed national curricula, a great variety of specially destined state subsidies and a large number of other regulations concerning school economy, organization, staff and practical work.

In the 1970s the welfare state faced a number of problems that could not be treated with the old solutions, and the parents of the old reform ideology had apparent problems formulating new ideas and visions. Economic and social instability, a growing change of pace, and the consequent increasing difficulties in predicting and planning for the future gave birth to a new reform or governance strategy where the periphery was ordered from above to change and resume a higher degree of responsibility (Kallós & Nilsson 1995, p. 176.) The new strategy, which is often inaccurately labeled as "decentralization" and "deregulation" (the change is far more complex than that) was not limited to education but concerned state governance in general. Still this tendency was perhaps most obvious and clear-cut in the school domain. As the school system had been one of the most centrally regulated and controlled Swedish state apparatuses up to that time, the changes were much more dramatic and visible here.

The changes in education governance were formulated and discussed both by socialist and non-socialist governments, and with different sets of arguments. However, the continuities and similarities between the two in this respect were prominent. In the 1970s, there was a growing realization within the Swedish labor movement and among the left more generally, fueled by a number of research reports, that schools did not live up to many of the expectations linked to the big school reforms of the post-war period. Despite the fact that all Swedish children went through a nine year comprehensive education and a large majority also received an upper secondary education for another two or three years, class and gender differences, and differences between manual and mental work were largely reproduced in schools and society. Even if Swedish schools, in international comparisons, proved to be more equal in standard and content than in most other countries, significant differences still existed between children of different backgrounds and between schools in different housing areas and districts. Based on these premises, the change of strategy was initiated and continued by social democratic governments in the 1970s and 1980s. It was believed that resources were better used and the creation of quality and equal education better solved at the local rather than state level.

At the same time, the emerging neo-liberal criticism of the inefficiency, expense and uniformity of the public sector in general, and of schools in particular, gained momentum as the left failed to provide alternatives to the old policies and strategies. However, as several researchers have pointed out, the education policies of the non-socialist governments in the years 1976-1982 did not constitute any radical break with those of the Social Democrats (c.f. Kallós & Nilsson 1995, Murray 1995.)

> "The emphasis on equal opportunities was shared and the overall aim of a unified school system and equal standards of education (...) still remained unchallenged".[*]

It was not until the 1990s, during the second period of non-socialist governance (1991-1994,) that the neo-liberal education policy resulted in further radical changes in education and education governance, described below.[†] It is worth noting that during their time in office (1982-1991) the Social Democrats facilitated the steps later taken by the non-socialist government. They replaced central financial regulations with governance by goals and results, and let the municipalities take over the employer responsibilities of all school staff.

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[*] Kallós & Nilsson 1995, p. 177.

[†] C.f. Kallós & Lundahl 1994, Lindblad & Wallin 1993, Lundahl 1990.

To sum up some aspects of the changes of education governance that took place in Sweden from mid 1970s forward:

From the end of the 1970s, the locus of accommodation of educational policy was changing (c.f. Archer, 1985.) To a growing extent educational change was initiated, planned and implemented at the local level. To use Lindensjö's & Lundgren's (1986) concepts, not only were the arenas of implementation local, but, to a growing extent, the arenas of policy formulation were also located at the local level.

Historically, the state, while the Social Democratic party was in office, had been a dominant source of education reforms in Sweden.[*]. A visible change took place from the latter half of the 1970s onward, altering the balance between different actors and forces, and it has become more difficult to specify one dominant initiator of education change in today's decentralized system.[†] The state or polity is still an important source of action and change, but both teachers, parents and students, and external local actors are able to influence what is going on in schools to a much greater extent than previously.

At the central state level a shift from rule governing to governing by objectives has taken place. In the 1980s a number of decisions were made creating increased local responsibility and freedom to find methods and ways to reach the centrally formulated education goals. These decisions included: a new national curriculum guide of the comprehensive school in 1980, a new system of state subsidies to local develop mental work and in-service training in 1982, the 1989 decision on a more clear-cut division of work between the state and local levels, and the so called

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[*] However one should remember that central organised interests, such as employer organisations and trade unions, have had substantial possibilities in the post-war period to influence political decisions during the whole reform process from preparation to implementation. That is: for a long time Swedish state execution has shown marked corporatist traits. For instance, Fulcher (1991) concludes: *"(...) if any non-fascist society can be considered corporatist, Sweden in the 1950s and 1960s fits the bill"*. C.f. Fulcher 1991, Heclo & Madsen 1987.

[†] C.f. Archer (1985), who distinguishes between politically initiated education changes, internal initiation, i.e. change initiated by educational personnel, and external transactions where groups outside education put new demands on schools. She argues, that while political manipulation is vastly more important than the other forms in the centralised system, she regards the three as having rough parity of importance in decentralised systems A similar distinction is made by Ozga (1994), who argues that there are three discernible sources to education policy, i.e. economic power, civil society and the state apparatus itself, which may alternatively predominate at different times.

"municipalization" in 1989, when the Parliament made the decision that teachers and other school staff should be employed by the municipalities instead of the state.

In the 1990s a new set of reforms, further shifting the balance between the state and the local level were introduced. The non-socialist government in 1991-94 took more far-reaching steps toward local autonomy than the Social Democrats had previously done, and, with an often used phrase, steps to break the school monopoly, e.g. decisions promoting the establishment of independent schools and the introduction of vouchers, and opening up possibilities of inviting tenders in certain subjects. Also, the decision in 1993 to deliver all state subsidies as lump sums to the municipalities, was crucial.

The changes in Swedish education policy can be summarized in a number of ways: as a shift from centralism, universalism, social engineering and consensus to decentralization, particularism and polarization (Lindblad & Wallin 1993), from a perspective of education as a public good to a private good (Englund 1993, 1994) and as a transformation to "post welfare education" with ideas of the market and economy as structuring principles (Lindblad 1994.) As is clearly shown in the example Whitty, Power & Halpin (1998), Sweden shares this development with several other countries facing similar problems and conditions. What is unique, however, is the specific historic context of Sweden, into which the ideologies and strategies of decentralization, individualization, pluralism and economism are brought.

Analysis of change: some remarks

Popkewitz (1996) argues that educational politicians and researchers often tend to apply old categories and concepts to new conditions without really questioning their relevance to today's situation and context, thereby denying change, or over-emphasizing continuity. For example he points to how the distinction between state and civil society is used in ways and contexts which are no longer appropriate and how the concepts of political participation and the state have acquired new connotations. I think this is an important remark, especially in the present context, i.e. a study with the aim to analyze possible social consequences of changed forms of governance. In Sweden, the state was regarded as the prime motivator of social and political change for the better part of the 20th Century, and state and civil society were increasingly intertwined.[*] As a Swedish researcher, I have to ask myself to what extent my own description and understanding of such concepts as the state and governance may be an uncritical heritage from the era of "the strong society" in Sweden, e.g. accepting central state governing as the natural or primary form of governance.

On the other hand, researchers risk taking the "new" concepts and assertions of change at face value and also accepting the most visible change as the most significant one (c.f. Ozga 1994, Whitty et al. 1998.) As will be evident in the following text analyses, there is such a predominant assumption of rapid social change today, heavily influencing the views on what schools should do and be like.

To avoid the risks of using concepts and categories that are no longer valid on the one hand, and on the other hand accepting fashionable political rhetoric as descriptions of what is really going on, an international-comparative perspective or a historical-critical perspective, both of which are used in the EGSIE project, are helpful. Also questions such as What or who is excluded in the policy and policy text?, What do the texts not tell us? and Which arguments are not presented? may serve as important correctives. For example, as most selected texts stress radical changes and discontinuity (such as those concerning work contents and the necessary competencies,) the analysis may raise questions such as: In what ways do the described phenomena really represent something new? Which continuity is ignored?

Selected policy documents

Five policy documents from the late 1980s and the 1990s have been selected for analysis and discussion:

- the proposal from the parliamentary committee on school governance 1988[†]
- the 1993 Gov. Bill on Choice in Schools[‡]
- the 1993 Gov. Bill on a new national curriculum guide and grading system of the comprehensive school[§]

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[*] C.f. Micheletti (1994).

[†] Committee Proposal 1988:20. A Changed Division of Responsibilities and Governance in the Field of Education.

[‡] G ov. Bill 1992/93: 230.

[§] Gov. Bill 1992/93:220. A New National Curriculum for the Comprehensive School and a New Grading System for Comprehensive School, Samic school, Special School and Compulsory Special School for Intellectually Disabled.

- the school development program, *On the Threshold of the 21st Century*, jointly agreed upon in 1996 by the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and the two national teacher union organizations, The Swedish Teachers Union and The National Union of Teachers in Sweden, respectively[*].
- the 1997 development plan, put forward by the Social Democratic government.[†]

All the selected documents originate from the central level, and are, in all cases but the first, complemented by interviews of the responsible policy makers.[‡]

An analysis of local policy texts, e.g. municipal school plans or work plans of single schools, would have been another possible and interesting alternative, given the fact that schools gradually have come to be governed less by central and more by local decisions. However, the aims and format of this study - to make possible a cross-national analysis, based on a very small number of policy texts from each country - would not allow for a necessary illustration of the big variations between municipalities and local actors concerning conditions, problems and approaches. Also, local policy documents often tend to be sparse and meager, i.e. local goals and strategies are not very well documented. This of course is an important problem per se, in education policy and in education governance analysis.

Four of five documents are official policy and steering documents, produced by both socialist and non-socialist governments or, in one case, by politicians from the parties represented in the Parliament. The fifth document does not originate from the state, but from central organizations of local actors that have become increasingly important in the 1980s and 1990s, namely teachers and municipalities. Therefore agreements such as *On the Threshold of the 21st Century* are interesting to analyze, as they may become important steering mechanisms, and as they reflect a now common thinking or ideology concerning change in schools, with school leaders, teachers and students as change agents. Even if I did not choose that alternative here, it would have been interesting and fruitful to focus on some of the education policy texts produced by big labor market organizations such as the Swedish Employers Confederation (SAF) and the Confederation of Trade Unions (LO), which have been important policy makers in regard to vocational education and training during the whole post-war period, and have influenced education politics in general since the 1970s.[*]

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[*] The Swedish Teacher's Union, the National Union of Teachers in Sweden and the Swedish Association of Local Authorities (1996). *On the Threshold of the 21st Century*. The teacher organisations represent teachers at pre-, primary and secondary school levels.

[†] Gov. Paper 1996/97:112. Development Plan for the Pre-school, School and Adult Education System - Quality and Equality.

[‡] These interviews will be presented and analysed in a separate Egsie report.

Two policy texts, the proposal of the steering committee (1988) and the 1992/93 bill on a new national curriculum grade and grading system, focus on the nine-year compulsory education, while the other three cover primary, secondary and adult education. The extensive governmental development plan from 1997 touches upon education governance and aspects of social inclusion and exclusion, and deals with actors and processes at different levels (e.g. what the government and the National Agency of Education should do, the responsibilities and work of local agencies, school leaders, teachers and students.) The proposal from the steering committee, the bill on freedom of choice in the school system and the bill on a national curriculum guide and grading, cover both governance aspects and social division and integration, but the main emphasis shifts. The development program of the three labor market organizations, *On the Threshold…*, does not explicitly address education governance or social inclusion and exclusion. Rather the aim is to stimulate a renewal of the inner work of schools, which they argue has become possible in the decentralized and deregulated system. In this sense the policy text is an expression of emerging new methods of governing schools and subjects. The policy texts are presented and analyzed in chronological order, as they often, in one way or another, build or react upon each other. They are followed by a chapter where some themes or narratives, common to all or most of the texts, are discussed.

The proposal from the parliamentary committee on school governance (1988)

Type of document, arguments for selection

The text is a proposal from a public committee with representatives from the parties repreented in the Parliament, and with a Social Democratic chair. The proposal served as a basis for a bill on school governance, and the subsequent decision in Parliament in 1989. It combines elements from a strong central governance in order to secure equality in education, but also proposes goal governing and deregulation. Further, as it contains reservations and special comments from individual committee members, it also reflects the contrasting views between different political parties in this respect.

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[*] I have recently presented such policy analyses of the SAF and the LO. C.f. Lundahl 1997a, 1997b.

Background

In the 1970s and 1980s several attempts were made to counter a growing critique of the public sector as expensive, ineffective, closed and inflexible. For example, Trials were initiated with "free municipalities" and delegation of local political decision made into smaller units in order to increase influence and commitment among citizens. In the education policy arena, similar discussions and decisions (e.g. concerning increased student and parental influence, and introduction and support to local school development work) took place. In 1987 the school minister of the Labour government, Mr. Bengt Göransson, appointed a parliamentary committee ("the steering committee") with the task of suggesting principal guidelines for education governance.[*] The Minister gave three reasons for adjusting education to local conditions to a higher degree than before: increased smoothness, better use of resources, and increased possibilities of cooperation with other municipal activities. This should however be done without disregarding school's basic goals or the need to provide education of equal standard.

To a large extent the suggestions from the steering committee, presented in 1988, were taken up in the subsequent bill from the Social Democratic school minister on school governance in 1989, and in the decision by the Parliament that same year.[†] The decision resulted in a clearer division of responsibilities between the central and local political level, a development from governing by rules to goal governance and a decentralization of several decisions to the local level.

Education Governance

Historically, strong state governance had been necessary to develop and expand the education system after World War II, the steering committee argues. But this kind of steering is insufficient to influence the inner work of schools. The governing instruments that have hitherto been used are efficient only to a limited extent (p.11.) The suggested changes mean that new methods are used to govern the inner work of schools: clearly defined education goals, less detailed state subsidy rules, a clear and professional school leadership, and a well developed evaluation system. The arguments of the committee differ from the other four selected policy texts in its consequent defense of a strong local and central political governance.[*] The committee advocates a certain deregulation and decentralization, but to a large extent within the political domain. Its suggestions also concern and give more power to actors outside the polity. A number of proposals are thus presented in order to strengthen the influence of students and parents, and the need to strengthen educational leadership in schools is stressed and solidified. Still, it is obvious that the steering committee wants to keep education policy in the hands of the central and local state, in order to secure that the general goals of equality and uniformity are achieved. This is seen, for example, in the argument on the freedom of teachers. In the 1990s it has been common to stress the increased professional freedom of teachers to choose content and methods, as governing by rules is replaced by goal governing. The argument of the steering committee does not follow this line. Instead it asserts that teaching has traditionally been strongly decentralized, and that governance by goals will give politicians a mechanism to govern teachers in their work.

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[*] An expert committee was appointed the same year to analyse and evaluate trials with new local governance forms. The experts, who presented their report in 1987, were also participating in the work of the parliamentary committee.

[†] Gov. Bill 1988/89:4. Development and Steering of Schools.

> "If teachers' work should be a work with a high degree of freedom even in the future, ... it is desirable that it is marked more clearly that the goals of schools put limits to this freedom".[†]

The principle of equal education is the basic motive for maintaining a strong political governance of education, a principle to which the committee returns many times in its argument.

> "The need to guarantee an education which is equal all over the country, and with consideration to some basic conditions, also uniform, makes a continued strong state influence necessary, as does the need to satisfy basic legal security demands of parents and students".[‡]

When the steering committee analyses a number of possible changes of governance and steering mechanisms, the possibility of maintaining equality is a standing criterion. For example, the committee rejects the idea of locally employed teachers and other staff, as one suspects that it will be more difficult to uphold equality, when local differences in employment conditions grow. The committee favors a certain reduction of the number of specially destined state subsidies to schools, but at the same time underlines that the state must not part with this system as it is the most important steering mechanism to maintain equal education standards. Furthermore, the allocation of state subsidies must be based on needs, not simply on the number of students, as such a system does not account for the big variations between municipalities, and therefore would seriously reduce the possibilities of providing a nationally equal education.

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[*] It should be stressed that the committee was not unanimous; the liberal and conservative committee members made a reservation against the majority proposal (see below).

[†] Committee proposal 1988:20, pp. 22-23.

[‡] Ibid p.17.

> "The introduction of a stereotyped, student number-based system of state subsidies would under represent the fact that many municipalities would have difficulty financing a nationally, reasonably uniform and equal compulsory education".[*]

In a reservation, the two liberal and conservative members of the committee criticized the majority for not wanting to decrease central governance enough.[†] In particular, they argue that the changes of the system of state subsidies are not far-reaching enough to enable a decentralization of responsibilities. State subsidies should simply be related to student number, thus allowing for maximum local freedom to allocate resources were they are needed. This, and the dissident's suggestions concerning the right to choose schools and possibilities to profile schools, forbade several of the decisions taken by the non-socialist government some years later.

Social inclusion and exclusion

The fact, established in the Education Act, that all children, regardless of gender, place of living, cultural or socio-economic background, should be included in education on equal terms is a central point of departure in the report of the steering committee, and possible changes and reforms of education should always be measured against this criterion. In this sense, social exclusion and inclusion is at the center of the text. At the same time it is a theme not particularly elaborated on or discussed, and other possible aspects of inclusion and exclusion are not touched upon.

Construction of subjects

There are some differences between the steering committee document and the other selected texts in the way they talk about teachers, parents and school children. The now dominant discourse of teacher professionals, and professional autonomy is not prominent in the committee proposal. The committee argues that teachers have been, and should continue to be, rather autonomous in choosing work methods, and goal governance means that the responsibilities of teachers to plan, carry through and evaluate education will and should increase. However, one does not seem to be fully confident that teachers will work in accordance to the goals; they should get education and information about the education goals, and local support and control from politicians and school leaders has to be developed, so

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[*] Ibid, p. 69.

[†] Two reservations were attached to the committee proposal: the one signed by the liberal and conservative representatives, and one from the centre party representative.--

> "...that the increased formal freedom, resulting from less strict school regulation, should not, in practice, lead to decreased instead of increased goal achievement".[*]

The importance of school leadership is stressed here as in all the other selected texts, and a number of principles to make school leadership more efficient are identified (e.g. leadership should be as close to work as possible, school leadership the division of responsibilities should be clearly defined, the professionalism of school leaders should be developed and local development projects should be promoted.) It is notable that corresponding discussion of teachers is not presented.

Students are mainly discussed in one specific context, i.e. their (and the parents') possibilities to participate in a democratic decision-making process over content and methods in school, and how they can influence their work environment. This is necessary if schools are to teach democratic values and approaches, but a matter that is still neglected to a large extent by people working in school, the committee concludes. That is: the student is, above all, developing as a citizen in a democratic society and as a work place member, while the role as learner is more or less taken for granted, in this particular document.

The 1993 Bill on Freedom of Choice in Schools

Type of document

Gov. Bill 1992/93:230 on increased freedom of choice in schools, put forward by the Conservative school minister of the non-socialist government in 1991-94, Mrs. Beatrice Ask. The proposition, which concerns primary and secondary education, was accepted by the Parliament in 1993.

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[*] Ibid, p. 12.

Background and arguments for selection

This bill, as its predecessor, Gov. Bill 1991/92:95 on freedom of choice and independent schools, concerns a crucial demand in Conservative and non-socialist education policy – namely increased freedom for parents and children to choose between schools in conjunction with the establishment of a competition situation and profiling possibilities in the school domain. The decisions based on the two governmental proposals meant that it became much easier to establish independent schools with tax money than before, and choice within municipal schools was actively promoted. Also, possibilities to invite offers for certain teaching positions were opened. Therefore it is reasonable to argue, that the bills together mark an important shift in Swedish education policy.

Education governance

The explicit aim of the two freedom of choice reforms are, with a formulation characteristic of neo-liberal ideology, to break up the public school monopoly in order to increase variety, and to provide parents and children with real freedom of choice. The introduction of a market situation in the school system will promote school development, quality and productivity, and lead to a more efficient use of resources. The introduction of tenders has the same rationale; competition is stimulating, the school minister characteristically argues.

> "I am convinced that a stimulating competition between different schools, with different orientations and different forms of ownership, can, in the long run, contribute to higher quality and productivity in schools".[*]
>
> "The right and possibility to choose between schools is an important instrument to vitalize schools".[†]

In terms of governance, the proposals of the two freedom of choice bills mean that political or state power over education is weakened, as more policy actors got involved, and the power of individual customers (parents, children) is strengthened through the possibility to choose or decline different alternatives. The contrast to the argument from the 1987 steering committee regarding the need of a strong central state is striking. In the bill from the Conservative minister, the role of the state is strongly curtailed; the state should define quality demands, formulate rights and duties, define equality in education and finance education. The municipalities – the local political arena – should create optimal conditions for development and use of resources. This is best done through deregulation and less directed state subsidies, i.e. a weaker rule and economic governance. It is of great importance that the municipalities have the freedom to find the qualitatively best and most cost-efficient solutions, Mrs. Ask writes.[*]

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[*] Ibid, p. 27.

[†] Gov. Bill 1992/93, p. 57.

Social inclusion and exclusion

The social consequences of the proposed freedom of choice reforms are not, or only very marginally dealt with in the text. If equality was a central guiding aspect in the document of the 1987 steering committee, this is clearly not the case in the 1993 Gov. Bill on increased freedom of choice. The requirement of national equality in the school law is recognized, and the matter of what equal education should not mean is discussed in principal chapter, where school minister Mrs. Ask states:

> "The demands of a national education system which has got the same requirements on quality and equality - everybody's right to education of high quality - does however not mean a streamlined and conformed education system. On the contrary, the need of a varied choice of education programs and methods increases (...) A uniform system cannot offer the variation and flexibility that is demanded in the future".[†]

When the possibility to invite tenders is presented, it is stated that "of course the demand for equal education must be upheld".[‡] But this is not further discussed, and in general, possible risks connected with a decentralized, deregulated and strongly heterogeneous system are not discussed in the bill.

Who will gain, who can make use of the increased freedom of choice, and who is excluded from this possibility? The limited possibilities to choose between schools in sparsely populated areas is mentioned. Also, the bill deals with the issue of how far the responsibilities to provide disabled children with choice alternatives can be taken. Mrs. Ask concludes that this freedom must be restricted for economical and practical reasons. But apart from this, all parents and children have the ability to choose and, it is argued, a responsibility to do it. The norm should be that students and homes make an active choice.[§] The text is thus silent on the difficulties of, for example, immigrant parents, single parents and parents and children in other conditions which may prevent them from informing themselves of different alternatives and making active choices.

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[*] Ibid. p 29.
[†] Ibid. p 26.
[‡] Ibid. p. 30.
[§] Ibid. p. 57.

Construction of the subjects

The bill on freedom of choice in schools says very little about students, teachers and other subjects. When they are mentioned, it is primarily as customers in the new school market. It is stressed that activity and commitment is demanded from students and parents, and that the emerging choice possibilities resulting from the reform will promote them.

> "Thereby freedom of choice can also contribute to a more active participation from the homes in the work of schools".[*]

The freedom to choose is closely linked to a responsibility to make conscious choices and to participate in the development of schools.

> "It is the responsibility of students and homes to participate and contribute to a good education and to form their own opinions".[†]

It is explicitly stated that students and parents normally will make an active choice. If parents, for some reason, do not choose a school for their child, the municipality should find the best solution. In a similar but implicit manner, teachers and school leaders are dealt with as producers, who will develop their "goods", i.e. teaching or school profiles, in a stimulating competitive environment. Nothing is said about staff and schools which do not do so. This seems to be a matter that the state should not interfere with.

The 1993 Bill on a new national curriculum guide and grading system of the comprehensive school

Type of document

Government Bill in 1993 on a new national curriculum guide and grading system of the compulsory school. The curriculum (LpO 94) came into force in 1994.[‡] The curriculum reform can be regarded as a consequence of earlier decisions on increased local responsibility and less regulation of schools.

Arguments for text selection

The curriculum and grading bill deals with two important central steering instruments: curriculum and grades.

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[*] Ibid., p. 27.

[†] Ibid, p. 26.

[‡] The Bill also proposed a new grading system of the Samic school, special schools and compulsory special school for intellectually disabled.

Background

The national curricula of the 1970s and 1980s built upon the earlier, centrally governed system, and was gradually seen as obsolete and hindering. In 1991 the Social Democratic government appointed a parliamentary committee with the task to propose goals and guidelines for pre-schools and the school system, and syllabi for compulsory education. A grading committee had been appointed in 1990, to propose a new grading system for compulsory education, upper secondary education and municipal adult education, replacing the old and heavily criticized group-related grades with goal or course-related grades. The directives to the two parliamentary committees preparing the reform were partly changed later that year by the newly appointed Conservative school minister in the non-socialist government. Mrs. Ask, and some committee members were replaced.[*] The work of the two committees constituted the basis for two consecutive bills; one on curriculum and grades of compulsory education, the other on grades and curriculum for non-compulsory education.

Education Governance

The Gov. Bill 1992/93:220 is a text about the construction of two remaining national steering instruments, the curriculum and the grades, in a decentralized and deregulated education system. The minister, Mrs. Ask, formulates the principal division of responsibilities as follows:

> "The national education goals and guidelines should be clear, and easy to evaluate. Furthermore, in order to enable the government to decide how the goals are achieved and to make political long-term judgments, a follow-up and evaluation material of high quality is required. The government has repeatedly stressed that the demands of national equality make it particularly urgent to follow the results of education. However, the state should not regulate how the municipalities should organize schools and education – that is a matter for local political bodies. Neither should the state prescribe which methods and forms of work to use in order to reach the goals. School leaders and teachers should take a responsibility for this".[†]

The 1993 Curriculum Bill stresses that goal-steering means that politicians give away power in many respects. Instead students, teachers, parents, school leaders, and in certain cases, local politicians, are the ones who take a stand on issues such as class-sizes, grouping of subjects and educational design.[*] This does not mean, however, that state governance is totally abolished:

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[*] For example the new directives meant that no preschool curriculum was to be proposed. Also, grades should be given more frequently than was presupposed in the original directives to the grading committee.

[†] Gov. Bill 1992/93:220, p. 23.

> "Rather the extended freedom of municipalities and individual schools, as well as a growing number independent schools, puts stronger demands on the Education Act, the national curriculum guide and syllabi to clearly define the frames of the growing local freedom and to define the national core of knowledge".[†]

The new national curriculum guide should be far less extensive than its predecessors. The goals of the curriculum and the syllabi are of two kinds: goals to strive for, and goals to reach. While the latter are meant to be the minimum level, which always should be reached, the goals to strive for provides the direction and ambitions. The new grading system is goal-related and with marks. Marks should be given, according to this national system, at least at the end of year 5 and 9. From the fifth year schools are obliged to give children and parents regular information about their achievements, both in oral and written form. Achievement information for earlier school years should be decided locally. In the new grading system failures become more visible. Likewise, school's obligations to provide the student who has failed with extra help in order to pass the course are increased. The bill proposes a change of the Education Act to ensure that municipalities take proper measures in such cases.

The work of schools is no longer governed by timetables or a vast number of rules, Mrs. Ask concludes, but the Education Act, the curriculum and syllabi. The new national curriculum guide should describe the general goals and contents of compulsory education. It is complemented by syllabi of the different subjects, which give more specific content and goal descriptions, and defines the criteria to which grading should be related.

The allocation of hours, once an important steering mechanism, has gradually become less and less detailed. In the 1969 National Curriculum Guide for Compulsory Education, the number of teaching hours were specified for each grade and subject. The 1980 National Curriculum Guide defined a total sum for each of the three stages (grades 1-3, 4-6 and 7-9.) In the 1993 bill Mrs. Ask argues that the timetable should be abolished altogether in the long run, but that this still is not possible.

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[*] Ibid., pp. 27-28.

[†] Ibid., p. 28.

> "The reason that the government proposes a timetable at all has to do with the importance we attach to the goal of equality in the Education Act. It is important that all students in compulsory education have possibilities of getting a basic knowledge foundation. Through centrally decided syllabi subject contents are guaranteed and by the timetables the least amount of teaching".[*]

Instead, the total number of hours for each subject or group of subjects is stated. All children will have at least that number of hours in a certain subject during the nine years in compulsory school. While the curriculum committee argued that the allocation of hours should be specified for two phases: grades 1-5 and 6-9, the government regards such a specification as unnecessary. The 1993 curriculum bill can be seen as yet another step in a decentralization process, consequent to the steps taken earlier. It refers to, but does not evaluate, this development; it rather seems to take it for granted. As in most of the other selected policy texts, the question of sanctions is not dealt with. Will something happen if, for instance, a municipality does not produce the local school plan as is presupposed in the policy texts? What will happen if teachers and school leaders do not work according to the national curriculum guide, and ignores the demand to give extra support to children that have failed? What will happen if local freedom is used in a way that it is no longer possible to speak about equality in education?

Social inclusion and exclusion

The text deals with social inclusion and exclusion in several ways. The new curriculum itself defines inclusion as covering all forms of compulsory education, education for disabled children, Sami schools and so on. This is an important acknowledgment that the values, goals and guidelines, and division of responsibilities should be the same for all children with compulsory school attendance.[†] The equality goal is discussed in different contexts, some of which have already been mentioned. It is referred to in studies showing that the ratio of students who leave compulsory education without grades vary widely between municipalities. Such observations, the school minister concludes, must result in a greater awareness, and effort beyond what has hitherto been done. Mrs. Ask underscores, that the increased freedom of choice, given by the new curriculum,

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[*] Ibid., p. 64.

[†] Ibid., p.37.

> "does not aim at increased segregation, but on the contrary to give more (people) increased possibilities. School's responsibility must always concern all students. One may choose different ways, but education must always be equal to everybody".[*]

In the first half of the 1990s when the bill was written, reports began to arrive regarding severe cuts of the support to school children with special needs, a fact that is also pointed out in the replies to the proposal of the curriculum committee.[†] In reaction to this, Mrs. Ask declared, that in spite of the difficult economic situation, and despite the fact that the state no longer should regulate the special student support, such support should be given. That is: signs that the combination of loosened central governance, increased local autonomy and economic difficulties may threaten equality and lead to growing exclusion are perceived, and countered with reminders of what municipalities are supposed to do in these respects. However, no measures to introduce other guidelines or sanctions are discussed.

Other aspects of inclusion and exclusion inside school are touched upon. It is pointed out that expressions of racism and hostility towards foreigners must always be brought up and fought against. The minister announced that gender equality issues will be taken up in the curriculum and syllabi to make follow-up and evaluation possible, and such issues will also be further analyzed. The responsibility of adults to intervene against mobbing and other forms of harassment in school should be inscribed in the Education Act.

Construction of subjects

The curriculum bill primarily develops students indirectly, through the knowledge they are supposed to acquire in compulsory education. When students are dealt with explicitly, it is once more the active, committed and responsible child, who emerges from the text. However the rather frequent passages about children with special needs, students who fail in their studies, gender matters and so on, contribute to a more complex picture than before. The teachers are fairly absent in the text, while the importance of school leaders with distinct responsibilities is stressed further.

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[*] Ibid., p. 41.

[†] In Sweden, the proposals of public committees are usually sent out to a large number of authorities and organisations, who are asked to give their standpoints. These are later summarised and commented upon in the government bills.

The school development program On the Threshold of the 21st Century (1996)

Type of policy text

Agreement on school development between the employer association (The Swedish Association of Local Authorities) and the two central teacher organizations representing teachers at pre-, primary and secondary school levels (The Swedish Teachers Union and The National Union of Teachers in Sweden, respectively.)

Arguments for text selection

The program reflects the view on change and development in schools, and indirectly on governance, of three central actors, who organize municipalities and teachers, i.e. increasingly important local actors.

Background

This is one part of the parties' joint agreement. The other part is a five-year collective agreement on teacher salaries and other work conditions, Agreement 2000 (1996.) The latter agreement means a reduced central steering, among other things in regard to the distribution of working hours and in-service training for teachers. In other words there is a further redistribution of power and responsibilities from central to local actors, this time agreed upon by the labor market parties. This is, however, a consequence of earlier political decisions, among others, the decision in 1989 that teachers and other school staff should be employed by the municipalities instead of the state.

Education Governance

The joint school development program does not primarily deal with governance, but with how increased local freedom can be optimally used. The description of decentralization and deregulation is positive without any reservations - doubts or fears of undesired effects of the new forms of governance are not expressed at all.

> "The new management and control system provides a further contribution to local ideas and the new curricula permit extensive professional freedom".[*]

The further decentralization through Agreement 2000 is said to favor an adjustment to the needs of students and development of education.

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[*] On the Threshold of the 21st Century (1996), p. 1.

> "Both teachers and local authorities can be regarded as winners in this agreement but the biggest victors are the students - not least since the agreement reduces central management and increases the opportunities available to local authorities, schools and teachers to organize school work in accordance with the needs of the students".[*]

Under the telling headline *Inspiring Pictures of New Organizational Forms*, it is stated that

> "the reduction in the central control of students' lessons and teachers' working hours now provides other opportunities to form a new school".[†]

The text can be regarded as a time-typical description of what will come instead of central governance and control, namely the local actors' self governance, and offers from central actors to support and stimulate the desired change. Naturally this is extra visible and clear-cut in a text on school development, but the same components recur in many other contexts of education and education policy in the 1990s. In the new school, teachers and students will be driven by their own thirst for knowledge. Research and working life constitute points of reference (working while learning is to want to know more. This is also the starting point for research[‡]), and an image of the inquiring and learning individual (student and teacher), conducted by good leaders and mentors (teachers, school leaders) emerges from the text. Parents need information and knowledge in order to support the development of children and education.

On the Threshold to the 21st Century gives many expressions of how one believes that central actors may speed up the development of schools, but in ways other than by the earlier forms of direct governance and control. One speaks of providing good examples and promotion of teacher learning and research. The text gives numerous examples of networks, conferences and projects that the three organizations have initiated or want to start.

Social inclusion and exclusion

On the whole, *On the Threshold of the 21st Century* is silent in matters of social exclusion and inclusion. Apart from the passage cited above about increased possibilities to adapt education to the needs of children, the concepts "nationally equal education", "children with special needs" and "children in the risk zone" are mentioned once or twice, but that is all. At the same time, the program clearly constructs or supports partly new categories of inclusion and exclusion, as it defines its subjects, which will be illustrated below: the active, flexible and professional teachers and headmasters, and the creative, autonomous and inquiring student.

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[*] Ibid., p. 4.
[†] Ibid., p. 9.
[‡] Ibid., p. 17.

Construction of subjects

The professional, autonomous teacher, the teacher as a leader and the reflective, learning teacher are recurrent themes of the text.

> "The teacher will be the professional leader who supports students in the work of developing their knowledge".[*]
>
> "Through the deregulation and decentralization of schools the teachers have been given much greater freedom to develop the teaching profession as an independent profession".[†]

The student is described in a similar fashion – as autonomous, responsible and inquiring.

> "In the future the student will assume a more independent responsibility for his/her own learning. (…) The student shall learn to learn and check what he/she has learnt himself".
>
> "A competent school leader is able to form the inner work of school in a way that promotes efficiency. He or she is able to unite school staff around a common vision, which presupposes that he or she can stimulate, motivate, support, enthuse, and contribute in other ways to develop the learning environment"[‡]

It can be added, that this passage and some others are borrowed from another text, the government development plan from 1997, which will be discussed in the next section.

The text gives a rather coherent picture of how (good, competent) teachers, students and school leaders should be, but is silent about the ones who do not fit this picture. Where do the unmotivated and uninterested students belong? What will happen to elder teachers who are unable or unwilling to radically change a role they have had for most of their life?

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[*] Ibid., p. 12.

[†] Ibid., p. 13.

[‡] Ibid., p. 16.

The Governmental Development Plan for the Pre-school, School and Adult Education System (1997)

Type of policy text

A new kind of policy or steering document, presenting the government's analysis of the present situation and plan for the two coming years in education matters. In 1991 the Parliament decided that the government should regularly provide such a plan of school development. The first plan was presented in 1994 – a plan by the non-socialist government[*], and the second plan, which is discussed here, by the Social Democratic government in 1997. To what extent the development plans actually will serve as important steering documents still remains to be seen. The 1997 development plan concentrates on quality aspects, and on the future role of the National Agency of Education. The section concerning upper secondary education is written together with the Center Party, with which the Social Democrats had an organized cooperation during their period in office in 1994-1998.

Arguments for text selection

A policy text which covers a broad range of education policy matters: contents and goals, governance, students and teachers, aspects of social inclusion and exclusion.

Background

The non-socialist government of 1991-94 decided on a number of reforms which altered the balance between different actors, and above all, introduced competition and private initiatives, at the educational arena. Another crucial step was the abolition, in 1993, of special destined state subsidies, whereby the state parted with one of its most important governance instruments. Would the Social Democrats change this development when they returned to the Cabinet, or choose to go on in the same direction, but with smaller corrections? On the whole, the latter was the case, as is illustrated by the 1997 education development plan. However, the new socialist government made several efforts to strengthen the influence of students and parents in schools in ways other than promoting their possibilities of choice. It was argued that students and parents had legitimate demands to influence the inner work of schools. Accordingly, proposals to try local school boards with a majority of students in schools at upper secondary level, and corresponding bodies with a majority of parents in compulsory schools, were accepted by the Parliament in 1996 and 1997.

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[*] Gov. Paper 1993/94:183. Development Plan for the School System.

Education Governance

There is a clear resemblance between the 1997 development plan and the report of the 1987 steering committee in the sense that changes of governance are discussed with reference to their social risks and consequences. However, while the steering committee was reluctant to take radical decentralization and deregulation steps – it strongly defended the idea of specially destined state subsidies as the most important governing mechanism – the 1997 development plan accepts such changes as basically positive, but warns of its potential dangers. In 1997 the Social Democratic school minister thus states that the decentralized and objective governed system has got a lot of advantages, but that it presupposes a strong control of results. If this demand is not met, quality and equality are threatened. Similarly, it is asserted that increased freedom of choice contributes to a positive change in schools, but at the same time tendencies of increased socio-economic segregation between different schools are discernible.

> "The government considers the possibility of choosing between schools to be valuable. This, among other things, improves the position of independent schools in the total educational system. The warning signs of increased segregation make it particularly important that municipalities in their follow-ups and evaluations do notice the effects that the increased possibilities of school choice, between public as well as independent schools, may have".*

With some exceptions - i.e. the suggestions of governance of adult education and the creation of a goal document common to the whole pre-school and school system - it is hard to find any substantial differences between the Social Democratic development plan and the non-socialist policy documents discussed earlier, with respect to the chosen steering mechanisms. In both cases, increased local freedom and choice are advocated. It is argued, that state governance by detailed rules and economic steering must be replaced by governance by objectives, information and quality evaluation at all levels. The new grading system is seen as an important steering instrument. Both in the 1993 bill of a new national curriculum guide and grading system from the Conservative minister Mrs. Ask, and in the 1997 development plan, from the Social Democratic minister Mrs. Johansson, it is asserted that the importance of the timetable should be reduced in the future (Mrs. Ask talks about an abolishment, Mrs. Johansson about a toning down), but that some kind time governing is still needed, as quality measures or quality insurance, which secures that all schools provide equal education of good quality, do not still exist.[*]

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*Gov. Paper 1996/97:112, p. 28.

The future role of the National Agency of Education is focused on in the 1997 Development plan. The discussion at this point is interesting as it reflects a wish to reintroduce a strong national actor in the education policy arena, which guards and defends the equality and quality of education, but at the same time it shows a reluctance to give this actor other than informative or ideological functions.

> "The steering system needs a strong central actor which, to a certain extent, has been missing. This statement should not be interpreted as though there are plans to change the balance of the decentralized education governance system. A return to the earlier central governance is not in the fore".[†]

Several of the steering mechanisms that were presupposed when the Gov. Bill on Responsibility in Schools, based on the proposals from the 1987 steering committee, was put forward, i.e. the special destined state subsidies, do not exist today. Instead, the informative steering (stressed by author), i.e. the influence through distribution of knowledge and evaluation of results, must be given increased importance.

> "(…)That is, education governance by goals and results - apart from clear goals - demands an active central school authority, which on the strength of its knowledge influences the development of schools through information, debate and comments.(…) Even general advice could be used to a larger extent than before".[‡]

The supervisory function of the National Agency of Education, strengthened by the introduction of education inspectors employed by the Agency, and the effects of this supervision are discussed somewhat. Questions such as: Does it matter if a municipality is criticized by the National Agency of Education? Is a request of change enough, or is there a need of some kind of sanctions? are put forward, but not really answered in the development plan. Generally, the new tools of education governance are not seriously evaluated in the 1997 development plan. This silence is rather peculiar, given the fact that a number of reports, cited in the development plan, have shown that many municipalities fail in several respects in relation to the national requirements. More importantly, here are a number of indications that differences between schools, municipalities and regions are growing rapidly - a fact which is recognized and discussed in the plan, as will be evident in the following section.

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[*] Ibid., p. 65.

[†] Ibid., p. 109.

[‡] Ibid., p. 110.

Social inclusion and exclusion

Social aspects are highly prominent in the 1997 development plan, and they are discussed much more at length than in any of the other policy texts under study here. Chapters on education and social background, education and ethnic background, education and gender equality, and children in need of special support, respectively, also tell something about the categories seen as crucial in an inclusion - exclusion perspective in Sweden in the 1990s. School is characterized as a part of a society undergoing a fast process which tends to increase social differences and injustice. Ethnic segregation and a widespread economic and political poverty in many areas of the big Swedish cities is described, and the (in a Swedish context) very high levels of unemployment in general, and among young people in particular, are clearly reflected in the text.

> "School is part of a society, which risks becoming increasingly segregated and unequal. Growth of class gaps is preceding at same pace as the worsening of economic difficulties. Segregation has increased".[*]

On the one hand, the government in the 1997 development plan strongly emphasizes education as an important part of welfare politics, a means against a threatening expulsion or exclusion, both of young people and adults, and as a means of democratic participation in social life.

> "The prolonged time of youth strengthens the demands of democratically organized and meaningful studies, which increases the possibilities of young people establishing themselves in the labor market and continuing their education".[†]
>
> "An investment in education at all levels, open for all adults, is necessary to reduce the risks of exclusion from the labor market and widening gaps in society".[‡]

On the other hand, school is also considered as at least a potential part of the social problems, and the text contains several warnings against a development in which schools may add to the growing social discrepancies instead of reducing them. Cuts in the municipal budgets have hit primary education hard; class sizes have grown, there are fewer teachers and other adults around the students, and children with problems get less support than earlier. In hard figures, the teaching costs per child have been reduced almost 20% in the period of 1991-95.[*] It is asserted that the education reform in the early 1990s, providing all young people with a three year upper secondary education with common core subjects, might be important in a social inclusion perspective. However, it may also contribute to social exclusion if a large part of the students, particularly in some of the vocational programs, fail in such core subjects as Swedish, Mathematics and English, as is now the case[†]. Even the choice of teaching methods may have undesired social consequences.

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[*] Ibid., p. 22.

[†] Ibid., p. 19.

[‡] Ibid., p. 4. The decision of the so called >Rise of Knowledge (Kunskapslyftet) in 1997, aimed at a 50 per cent reduction of unemployment up to year 2000 by providing adults without a three year upper secondary education with possibilities to get such an education.

> "Schools must be aware of segregating tendencies in its own work. e.g. individualization in teaching, taken to extremes, may separate students from each other, so that everyone becomes isolated, with no contact with other students, other opinions, experiences and knowledge. That leads to thoughts of a privatization of learning".[‡]

I chose to cite a longer passage that best summarizes the analysis and conclusions of the text regarding the mechanisms behind the social tendencies described:

> "The decentralized responsibility means that there are different means of school development. Today, already, we perceive increased variation, plurality and growing differences within education. One part of this variation results from trials and efforts to reform and adapt the work. Certain schools consciously strive to develop the quality of their work, while others are passive and less interested in educational development work. Other differences depend on social change. Reading and writing problems have been a concern for a long time, and have now attracted more and more attention. Housing segregation and a growing number of students with immigrant backgrounds result in many differences as students start school. Altogether, the changes mean that there are growing differences between different schools. Another disturbing tendency is that differences between diverse groups of students are now increasing. Even if reading performance is generally very good in Sweden, there is a group of students

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[*] The costs per child were reduced with 19% in pre-schools, 19% in schools and 32% in after-school recreation centres in 1991-95 (ibid., pp. 116-119). The last figure is followed by the comment: *The biggest increase of production has taken place within after-school recreation centres* (ibid., p. 117).

[†] The reform is briefly described in Lindblad, S & Lundahl, L, in Egsie report no 1 (1998).

[‡] Ibid., p. 23.

> that schools fail to adequately teach in this respect. Furthermore the variation between the high-performers and low-performers during school-years increases. (…) In other words there are two images of Swedish compulsory school. The bright image reflects a comprehensive school with good results. The dark image indicates growing chasms between students and schools, and problems reaching the curriculum goals of an equal education with good quality for all. Both images are true. Therefore, extensive effort must be made, both locally and nationally, to counter these dark image."[*]

If the policy text thus is very explicit regarding social inclusion and exclusion, in terms of equality – integration on the one hand and inequality and segregation on the other – it is more silent in suggesting to what should be done to prevent an undesired, and ongoing process of exclusion and segregation. To mention one example: the government argues that the reduced support of children with problems constitutes severe warning signals, and talks about the necessity to take action to improve the situation in school for students most at risk.[†] But the only action mentioned is that the National Agency of Education is to give an account of how cuts at the municipal level are affecting children with special needs. More generally, a strengthening of the supervisory role of the National Agency of Education and re-implementation of school inspectors is introduced, but, as has been discussed above, the development plan is rather quiet about what will happen if municipalities do not adjust to this supervision. "

Construction of the subjects

Essentially, the same images of students, teachers and school leaders emerge in the 1997 development plan from the Social Democratic government as in most of the other policy texts studied here. In fact, several descriptions of teachers and school leaders are fetched, word by word, from the school development program presented by the teacher and employer organizations in 1996, analyzed earlier. It is argued that school leadership and the role of the teacher have become both more important and more difficult than before. School leaders should stimulate, motivate, support and enthuse, and thereby contribute to the development of learning environments in school. The new teacher should create an environment for students' learning and at the same time be a motivator of education and teaching development and renewal, a teaching process leader. He or she should supervise and provide support for information evaluation and the student's own conquest for knowledge.[*] The standing Parliamentary education committee is cited: the new teacher role must be permeated by an ability of adjustment, renewal and development.[†] Research and teacher work should be closer linked to each other, through teacher education, more graduated teachers and the participation of teachers in research as part of school development work. Students should be curious, motivated and gradually become able to seek and evaluate knowledge him/herself. Thus it is not only a matter of cognitive abilities and acquisition of the "right knowledge", but rather to have or develop certain personal traits and dispositions, social and cognitive competencies, which are believed necessary in the future labor market.[‡]

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[*] Ibid., pp. 60-61.

[†] Ibid, pp. 58-60.

> "One important part of such competence is an education that gives the prerequisites to develop creativity, preparedness for change, communication skills, communication ability, language proficiencies and social competence. Continuous learning promotes innovative thinking and stimulates enterprising spirit".[§]

Clearer than in the other policy texts it becomes evident that students who do not fit with this description are and will become increasingly disabled and marginalized in "the knowledge society".

Narratives of the five policy texts

What do the texts tell us, generally, and to what context do they relate themselves? Which are the central concepts and arguments of the texts? Which are recurrent themes and images of Sweden, Swedish school, and the citizens and competencies that are needed today and in the future? Which themes and images are not represented?

There are some substantial similarities particularly between the selected policy texts, especially the four documents from the 1990s, in the way they describe and evaluate present and future demands from society and work on schools and education. The proposal from the 1987 steering committee to a lesser extent discusses its task against such a background; its aim is rather to adjust the existing governance system in order to reach previously established goals more accurately and efficiently than did the old instruments. However the change theme, discussed below, is found in all the five policy texts. It seems that at least at the central political level, there is a certain consensus over the kind of competencies that are needed and regarding the crucial socio-economic importance of education[*]. Needless to say, this does not imply a general consensus on schooling and education.

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[*] Ibid., p. 43.

[†] Ibid., p. 44.

[‡] Ibid., p. 15.

[§] Gov. School Development Plan 1997, p. 9.

The Swedish story of success and the role of education

The recurrent narrative of Sweden, Swedish work-life and education reflected in the majority of the referred policy texts can be described like this: In the 20th century Sweden has undergone a fast and successful transition from a backward agrarian society into one of the world's wealthiest nations. This success story is not least due to the early establishment and reforms of a common school system.

> "It has been shown that the introduction of the public school and the rising education level in general have had great importance in the enormous development of Sweden as one of the richest countries in the world from the latter half of the 19th century and one century ahead".[†]

A strong central governance and control was necessary to introduce and implement the big school reforms after World war II, and to obtain nationally equal schooling and education. It is argued that governance was effective in this respect; the policy texts point out that several international investigations have shown smaller differences between schools within and between different regions and municipalities in Sweden than in other countries. It is further stated, that if education has been important, it plays an absolutely crucial role in present and future Sweden.

> "The quality of school and the education system is an important competition factor, and Swedish schools must, if we are to remain as a welfare nation, belong to the absolutely best in the world".[‡]

> "Today knowledge is the most important factor behind society's creation of value and continued welfare. Society, industry and individuals become increasingly dependent on knowledge for their success, competitiveness and survival".[§]

Everything is changing very fast

Change is the first and most important concept in the narratives of social change of the five texts. Today's, and even more tomorrow's, society is characterized by fast changes, new knowledge and new technologies, especially IT, new jobs, and a growing international competition. Working life is changing rapidly, demanding more and new skills of the employed.

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[*] It may be added, that I have found similar images and naratives as in my research on the post-war education policies of the Swedish Confederation of Employers and the Swedish Trade Union Confederation. Lundahl 1997a, 1997b.

[†] Gov. Bill 1992/93:220, p. 10.

[‡] Ibid., p. 11.

[§] On the Threshold of the 21st Century, 1996, p. 3.

> "The most prominent feature of the 20th century is the fast changes. Never before has the pace of development been higher (...). Therefore new and bigger demands on knowledge and eduction are being forwarded. A broad knowledge base is the most important tool to make the individual able to handle a changing reality".[*]

The assertion that everything is changing, leads to the conclusion that schools can not prepare the children for stable tasks and roles by providing them with a certain quantum of pre-packed knowledge.

> "The fast pace of change in technology and society means that much of what school is teaching runs the risk of being obsolete even before school time has ended".[†]

> "Sweden has become so dependent on a changing environment that it seems impossible to let the comprehensive school curriculum mirror the future social life we expect or wish"[‡]

Competence in "the knowledge-based society"

Knowledge-based society and information society, information technology, mass media, communication and international exchange are key concepts in the four policy texts from the 1990s. That is: to a high degree they focus on growth of knowledge, increased contacts and the overwhelming flow of information in mass media and on the net, when they solidify what the constant and rapid social change is about. As one consequence, schools cannot and should not waste time teaching facts that very soon will be obsolete. Instead, apart from teaching some very basic knowledge, it should provide students with methods and tools so they themselves can search, select and evaluate information. Communication and problem solving skills are important, but also social competence and the ability to make proper moral judgments. Students should be taught to act responsibly, i.e. to search for "valuable" or "good" knowledge and sort out "junk" and destructive information. Education should thus foster a self-governing, flexible, responsible, knowledge seeking and creative individual.

To the individual it means a continued need for good basic knowledge and an increased ability to orient oneself in a even more changing world, to continuously learn new things from very early years, and, together with others, develop knowledge in order to solve problems. It is about personal development and ability of active learning that goes on during one's entire e life .[*]

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[*] Gov. School Development Plan 1997, p. 9.

[†] Gov. Bill 1992/93:220, p. 7.

[‡] Ibid., p. 12.

> "In a society where everyone more and more often and earlier in life is confronted with difficult choices and important decisions, the basis for moral judgment and moral competence becomes important".[†]

Decentralization and deregulation of education was and is necessary.

It is argued in the texts that, in spite of its earlier virtues, the old centralized and highly regulated steering system was insufficient and even counterproductive to help schools reach their present and future goals and to work efficiently.

In a rapidly changing society with high demands on school as an educating and teaching environment, it is necessary to leave more space for adaptation of its work to different local conditions.[‡]

A uniform system cannot offer the variation and flexibility demanded in the future.[§]

> "The new steering system evidently creates a certain anxiety and uncertainty in the beginning, but more importantly, it opens up new possibilities".[**]

In none of the policy texts is a return to some form of stronger central governance advocated. In particular, the 1997 development plan is very explicit on this point; school minister Mrs. Johansson repeatedly maintains that the decentralized system has come to stay.

> "(The system of) Management by objectives and results remains and is to be fully applied. Decentralization must be developed and carried out so that more people, in and outside school, can influence modernization of school in order to reach its goals".[††]

Summary of text analysis

To summarize: The five policy texts under consideration here are taken from a ten year period, 1988-1997. They reflect a shift of views concerning education politics, how it is initiated and carried through, and the tasks of the state in relation to schools and education. The 1987 steering committee (text no. 1) wanted to maintain a strong state education governance at strategic points, and thereby strongly addressed the need to uphold education of equal national standards, but also wanted to make possible increased local influence and freedom as how to choose ways to reach the overriding goals. In the first place it was a matter of strengthening the local political bodies, build a more professional school leadership and to increase the democratic influence of students in schools. Under the period of Social Democratic government, the Parliament both made decisions according to the proposals from the steering committee, and moved the employer responsibility for teachers and other school staff from the state to the municipalities. The steering committee had warned against this, as one argued that this would contribute to growing differences between schools and municipalities.

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[*] On the Threshold of the 21st Century, 1996, p. 3.

[†] Gov. Bill 1992/93:220, p. 7.

[‡] Committee Proposal 1988:20, p. 12.

[§] Gov. Bill 1992/93:230, p. 26.

[**] Gov. Bill 1992/93:220, p. 27.

[††] Gov. School Development Plan 1997, p. 7.

During the period of Non-socialist government 1991-1994, radical steps toward local freedom were taken, but now with the market as a model. The so called freedom of choice revolution was manifest in decisions to enhance the establishment of independent schools and school choice within the municipal system, by the introduction of vouchers and tenders. The general decision to give state subsidies to the municipalities as lump sums meant that the state refrained from important economic steering instruments. The Government Bill on freedom of choice in the school system (text no. 2) was less about a delegation of responsibilities to local political bodies, and more about a weakening of the political level for the benefit of individual actors at the local arena - teachers, school leaders, parents, local industry and so on. Educational change would benefit most from the introduction of quasi-markets and competing alternatives, it was argued. Matters of social exclusion and inclusion, were hardly discussed in this context at all.

The Government Bill on a new national curriculum guide and grading system for compulsory school (text no. 3), can be seen as a consequence of the decisions taken earlier. The national curriculum guide should be brief and concise in comparison with its predecessors, but include clear objectives that could provide the frames and directions for the local actors, and as points of reference for national assessment and control. The new course related marks and the introduction of national assessments can be seen as important examples of strengthened state steering instruments in the education field. As Murray (1995) has pointed out, school's role to level out social differences was no longer a central theme, as compared to earlier national curricula.

The three-party program *On the Threshold of the 21st Century* (text no. 4), formulated by the two largest central teacher union organizations and the association of local authorities, was developed in a situation where local actors - municipalities, school leaders and teachers - had obtained a significantly increased space of action. The program recognizes the decentralization and deregulation steps taken, and wants to promote local school development in ways that are very different from the traditional management by rules, e.g. by providing good examples, initiating development projects and networks, mentorship and supervision. In practice the text is silent about matters of social inclusion and exclusion.

The last policy document (text no. 5), the Social Democratic education development program from 1997, a new steering instrument per se, relates and responds to the education reforms of the 1990s. By and large, the Social Democratic school minister accepts these changes, including the ones initiated by the non-socialist government in 1991-1994, as necessary and desirable; a return to the earlier forms of detailed central governance is not on the agenda, she maintains. However, the role of the National Agency of Education needs to be clarified, and its evaluating and controlling functions strengthened. Increasing social inequalities are dealt with thoroughly, but are not particularly related to the changes of education governance.

The four policy documents from the 1990s share certain beliefs regarding the kinds of changes that will face Swedish society and labor market, what kinds of competencies and personal characteristics that education should teach and foster, and value the changed forms of governance that have taken place in similar ways. The report from the 1987 steering committee differs in several respects, above all in its partial defense of a strong state governance in the older sense in order to avoid increased differences between students, schools and municipalities.

Some final remarks

The selected policy documents, produced by important central actors in the Swedish education policy arena, all deal with different aspects of education governance, and suggest additional changes and reforms in this respect. Three of them - the report of the 1987 steering committee, the Gov. Bill on a new National curriculum guide and grading system, and the 1997 development plan of education - also put matters of social inclusion and/or exclusion on the agenda. All the texts in one way or another, more rarely or more frequently, use concepts and categories such as social equality and equal education standards (and their opposites), referring to the formulations of the Education Act and, at least superficially, reflecting an egalitarian education ideology, which has been dominant in Sweden and the Nordic countries in the post-war period. The division along class lines is still seen as central, and increasingly also along gender and ethnicity lines.

If the social consequences of changed forms of education governance are discussed at all, it is done so only marginally. Normally, education governance is treated in one sphere separated from the sphere of social inclusion/exclusion matters, in a similar way as is the case in the research field.* The reasons behind this gap or silence will be analyzed in consecutive interviews with central politicians and administrators in the field of education. One hypothesis is that the two groups of concepts, education governance and social inclusion/exclusion, respectively are supposed to be separate phenomena. According to a second, alternative hypothesis, education governance is seen to have social consequences, but even with external factors (e.g. the economy, the labor market situation) education is the more important factor behind social inclusion and exclusion.

The third alternative hypothesis is that education governance is seen as highly important in regards to social inclusion and exclusion, but in such complex, ambiguous or negative ways that one refrains from analyzing this in the texts. Yet another interpretation would be that the concept of a nationally equivalent education and social (gender, cultural etc.) equality is just a sign or symbol, emptied of its former meaning.

A second, and related question is the silence about new kinds of social inclusion and exclusion, articulated partly through new categories of success and failure. The majority of the selected policy texts explicitly include students (teachers, parents etc.) that are motivated, alert, inquiring, self-governing, flexible, responsible, and well articulated as needed and desirable in society and at the labor market. One may conclude that a need of special persons rather than special competences, are stressed stronger than earlier, and that this simultaneously creates new forms of exclusion in education and at the labor market, probably only partly based on class, gender and ethnicity distinctions. Such issues are however rarely touched upon in the selected policy texts. Or does the silence in this respect reflect an outspoken conclusion or promise there is room for everyone who is prepared or fit to meet the demands of self governance and adaptability?

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*C.f. the Egsie report on research literature on education governance and social exclusion - inclusion.

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9. England and Scotland

Jenny Ozga and Martin Lawn:

Modernizing the (Dis-) United Kingdom: deregulation, devolution and difference

Introduction

The context for the analysis of the policy texts has been described before but it is necessary to repeat its main points here so as to explain the significance of the policy texts chosen for analysis. (Ozga, J and Lawn, M "United Kingdom' in Lindblad, S and Popkewitz, TS Eds. Education Governance and Social Integration and Exclusion: National Cases of Educational Systems and Recent Reforms Uppsala Reports on Education No 34 Jan 1999 Univ. Uppsala pp. 223–247).

The first major period of reform and stabilization occurred between 1945 and 1965. Two Education Acts (one for England and one for Scotland) were sufficient to manage this period. There was a strong defining discourse of democratic government, a powerful administrative system and a period of rebuilding, renovation and modernization in state schooling. The discourse of partnership between areas of government and professionals, necessary to rebuild the system of education, was powerful enough to obscure the differentiated provision and selection which characterized the system of education. The following period of educational change (between the 1960s and the 1970s) was characterized by a reinforced discourse of equality of opportunity, the rise of comprehensive education and the expansion of higher education. The politicization of educational policy, combined with the increasingly severe economic situation (in the late 1970s) and the difficulties of governing through a corporatist, consensual mode created a radical break with the emergence of radical, neo-liberal policies. The Conservative government of the 1980s and early 1990s began to apply to the public services the policies and ideas it had earlier applied to nationalized industries.

The neo-liberal agenda was unevenly applied within the UK as Scotland and Northern Ireland, for different reasons, were treated differently, and were able to respond differently. The overarching ideas of neo-liberalism and economic rationalism have been retained by the current Labour government of the UK and, although there are significant differences that have developed since Labour's election in 1997, the period from the late 1970s can be seen as the beginning of a distinctive approach to governance, its operation and means of control, realm of influence and discourse. The openness of the UK economy to flows of capital and inward investment is reputed to be greater than any other European economy. In turn, there has been an extensive marketization throughout the public services and a gradual opening of the education economy to private capital and service providers. These have moved from taking over specific functions like catering and cleaning into an overall management responsibility for parts of the education service, for example, school inspection and school takeovers.

Education in England and Scotland has common features, although the two systems of education have been different in construction, managed and operated with substantial dissimilarities and with distinctive funding arrangements. The installation of a new Labour Government has led to a redefinition of purpose and, to a limited degree, of structure: the quasi market is still in place but there is a stronger modernizing tendency (focused on workable solutions to school effectiveness, national goals and plans that together define the managerial state) and a communitarian discourse (integration within a diversity but with protection of the excluded). This managerialist direction has the following features:

The refining of the process of managing through a "lean state' by agencies, public/private partnerships, private funding and service contracts has continued under the Labour Government although the social policy differs substantially from that of the previous Conservative Government. The points of commonality of intention are:

Differences in the degree of implementation are connected to differences in national context within the UK. So, one of the consequences of the changes in this second reform period (from the 1980s and 1990s) has been a shift in the governance of education - from tiers of the public to a public/private mix; from a clear national discourse to a mix of splintered national and business/organizational discourses; from a clarity of administrative structures to clusters of grant-getting initiatives and short termism; from secure boundary responsibilities to fluid, overlapping responsibilities and so forth.

Overall, there is a shift into flux in which micro interventions, pragmatically directed at sampled "problems,' with limited public grants, have replaced uniform, administrative solutions, delivered with block grant support. Education has declined as a separate discourse within government: it has become an area of intervention by government (sometimes through proxies) but only as a sub-grouping of economic intervention and modernization. A key statement, used in our earlier paper (see above), makes this point and signals the start of this integration of discourse and policy:

> It was vital to Britain's economic recovery and standard of living that the performance of manufacturing industry was improved and that the whole range of Government policies, including education, contribute as much as possible to improving industrial performance and thereby increasing national wealth. (DES 1977, p. 6)

This is particularly true in England, but large bureaucracies and uniform solutions remain the preferred style of government in other parts of the UK.

Context

In the late seventies, the Labour Government began a "debate' about the need to renew the education service; particular emphasis was placed on the need for a common curriculum and better links between education and work. Although it took a further ten years, and came after a very difficult teachers' strike, the Conservative Government's Education Act of 1988 did establish, in a very firm way, a national curriculum for state schools in England. This specified the subjects of study and their time allocation from the first year of schooling to the last. In addition, it had a new testing regime attached to its operation.

Although the idea of a national curriculum was the central idea of the Act, in its formation it often confused the need to restore an "English' heritage within schooling. So, there is an English National Curriculum but the Welsh have a supplemented version of it (with their own language element) and the Scots have their own, looser, curriculum framework, negotiated locally. Three subjects – mathematics, English and science – are core subjects, the others (six in the primary and seven in the secondary) are foundation subjects. The national curriculum was organized in four age groups: key stages 1, 2, 3 and 4. Children reach the end of each key stage at ages 7, 11, 14 and 16, and the Education Act of 1988 required children to be assessed at the end of each key stage. The complexity of this huge and inflexible bureaucracy was based on long lists of targets, levels of achievement within the targets and a series of tests.

However, as the NC became unworkable in practice, being too large to fit into school hours and with teachers boycotting the tests in 1993, the Government had to draft a senior business manager into education to reduce the curriculum content and simplify the tests. In his reports, Dearing introduced human resource management ideas to the management of the curriculum. In particular he listened to the teachers' complaints about workload, tried to simplify the bureaucracy of the testing program and talked about professional responsibilities (a discourse which had been nonexistent in the previous ten years). The curriculum and its testing was “slimmed down’ to allow some flexibility of operation and timing. However, the post-16 curriculum and its relation to work and the university examinations were still unfinished business. There is considerable tension among policy-makers about the best way forward on this, with particular stress arising from the contradictory pressures of modernization and concern to keep the A-level intact as a “gold standard.’

The National Curriculum also exposed deep fault lines in Conservative policy-making, particularly between those who see it as the repository of culture and tradition and the discipline of the subject, and who want to restore past practices aimed at supporting authority and discipline (grammar, received pronunciation, a “canon’ of cultural goods, rote learning), and those who want the national curriculum to reflect the needs of the economy vis-à-vis flexibility of employment, transferable skills, new competencies etc. There was a further tension in the Act. There appeared to be a contradiction, even to Conservatives, between the specification of a bureaucratic national Curriculum and the espousal of neo-marketization in schooling. This last point was important to Conservatives who were fighting for a free education market (and incidentally, exporting these ideas elsewhere, for example, to New Zealand).

However, in time, what appears contradictory can be reconciled. Firstly, in recollecting this period, an influential Minister of Education (Baker) argued that the neo-market was imposed to disrupt and control the work of the teachers and their associations, which had been powerful. Secondly, the national curriculum and testing procedures can be seen to operate as a means of standardization, producing operational data against which educational consumers may exercise choice. Extending this argument further, we could suggest that the national curriculum and assessment procedures legitimated hierarchies of knowledge and competence, thereby contributing to the emergence of hierarchies of provision.

This point can be underscored by the following significant Act, in 1993, based on the White Paper “Choice and Diversity.” As the title indicated, this legislation sought to strengthen the operation of the educational market.

The 1993 Act promoted diversity by increasing pressure for the creation of grant-maintained schools, schools which were able to “opt out’ from local democratic authority control, gain significant, additional financial incentives and be managed through a new agency, the Funding Agency for Schools. Provision was also made for new kinds of specialist schools (for example, for music) in an attempt to restore impetus to the general drive for differentiation. The foundation of City Technology Colleges through the 1988 Acts, intended to be funded by private business, had stalled. The 1993 Act laid the basis for another strong, central intervention into schooling by legislating for task forces (“Education Associations’), appointed by the Secretary of State, to take over schools designated by the Inspectorate (Ofsted) as “failing’ and close them down entirely or move them into the grant-maintained sector. So, the 1993 Act was intended to be a further nail in the coffin of comprehensive schooling and another significant attempt to remove the power of the local authorities. Centralization of power was seen as necessary to ensure a neo-market in education.

A consequence of this period (the 1980s and early 1990s) is growing evidence, in areas of competing school provision, of differentiated social class behavior. In London, parents who have the means to exercise choice do so, and thus schools have stopped becoming “local’ as some parents find they cannot get their children into their local school while parents with little “cultural capital’ find it hard to make informed choices between schools. The “league tables’ (based on pupil examination results school by school) were not weighted for selective entry or social class (and so, top league table schools were nearly always either selective or private). A major effect of the league tables was a downward spiral of failure for schools whose results fluctuated or were depressed by the “creaming’ effects of GM schools or CT Colleges in their area. Another effect was a major increase in the exclusion of pupils from schools, and a loss of special needs provision.

The Labour Government – the current context

Labour was elected to govern on a platform which included the slogan “Education, Education, Education,’ a declared number one priority for the new government.

Education is an economic necessity for the nation. We will compete successfully on the basis of quality or not all. And quality comes from developing the potential of all our people. It is people who are the greatest natural asset. We will ensure they fulfill their potential' (Labour Manifesto 1997 p6]

Pledging that a larger share of the national income would be spent on education, Labour made the raising of standards in schools the overriding aim of their administration. In effect, this meant leaving the structural inheritance of the early 1990s mainly intact: difference and choice were acceptable but GM schools were absorbed back into an accountable framework. They did not attack the private/public divide in education provision but spoke of "building bridges' across the "educational apartheid.' Through "pressure and support,' standards would be raised and so the focus of educational policy moved towards the series of micro interventions, designed to intervene effectively in "significant' parts of the system. In other words, as in the general Third Way philosophy underlying this approach to governing, the argument accentuates methods not ideologies, and solutions not discussion. To do this, it has to stress the managerial aspects of the system, the partners who can deliver change and the responsibility of individuals to learn and change.

So, for example, in the section on "attacking educational disadvantage' in the Manifesto, the following statements range across the elements of the new approach:

> "Labour will not tolerate under-achievement'
>
> "public/private partnerships will improve the condition of school buildings'
>
> "recruiting the best teachers and headteachers'
>
> "voluntary mentoring schemes'
>
> "study support centers' (at Premier League Football grounds)
>
> "Exclusion or suspension may sometimes be necessary'
>
> "(...) new pupil referral units'

and in the section on parents:

> "a culture of responsibility for learning within the family, through contracts between all schools and parents, defining the responsibilities of each'

Overall, the new policy accent is upon economic renewal, moral responsibility and a depth of micro-policy intervention within a broad managerialist approach. It was within this setting, as it appears across two different national contexts, that the following key readings were chosen.

England

1 : Excellence in Schools – Government White Paper

2 : The Mosaic of Learning – policy essay (Hargreaves)

3 : Education Action Zones – Government Press Releases

Scotland

1 : The Social Inclusion Initiative – Scottish Office

2 : New Community Schools Prospectus – Scottish Office

3: Role and Purpose – policy document, General Teaching Council, Scotland

England

Introduction to the English Policy Texts

These three texts reflect the policy direction in education within the new Labour Government. Its agenda for education cannot be “read’ as the new UK policy on education, as it mainly applies to England (and to a great degree to Wales) and it will be mediated or barely acknowledged in other parts of the UK (particularly Scotland and Northern Ireland), especially so in the new context of devolution of decision-making in policy, such as the new national assemblies in Scotland and Wales.

So, the first three texts (the England texts) represent the English policy drive on education. It can be argued that Text I (Excellence in Schools) represents the general direction of new Labour policy although its targets and prescriptions will only apply in this form to England and Wales. Text 3 (Education Action Zones) is a recognizable part of the educational policy direction, following on from Excellence in Schools, which will take place within England (and possibly Wales). Text 2 (Mosaic of Learning) was written by an English professor, influential in government advisory groups for several years, and it represents modernizing ideas which continue to influence the new Labour policy agenda in education but which have a particular English emphasis. Generally speaking, the continuation of market ideas in education and the restructuring of teaching from conservative (Thatcherite) governments into the new Labour government can be seen as an "English' deviation, as many of these and related ideas have much less meaning and validity in other parts of the UK.

Text Analysis 1: "Excellence in Schools' Department for Education and Employment 1997

Introduction

This was the first White Paper of the new Labour government, issued in July 1997, only two months after the election victory. As a white paper, it is a consultative document, and was open for comment until October of 1997. It was very widely disseminated – in written form, by video, and on the Internet. However it is clear from the text that consultation on its central points was limited; this was an attempt by government to explain its policies to the electorate, not a setting out of opportunities for dissent. Its very form, and its tone, convey interesting messages about how governance is defined by the new government

The document represented a new approach to policy-making in its form, in that it offers a number of policy principles and policy targets against which the government may be judged. It is a lengthy document with the following chapter headings:

1. A New Approach; Education, Education, Education. Tackling the problems we face. Our policy principles. Our policy focus.
2. A Sound Beginning; the foundations of learning. Early years education. Assessment when starting school. Smaller primary classes. Raising standards in literacy and numeracy.
3. Standards and Accountability; raising standards, our top priority. Measuring performance to raise standards. The balance of pressure and support. High standards for ali.
4. Modernizing the comprehensive principle; excellence for everyone, Setting, target-grouping and accelerated learning. Education Action Zones. Specialist schools and families of schools. A new national grid for learning. Research and development into schools of the future
5. Teaching: high status, high standards; good teaching is the key to high standards. School leadership. Training new teachers. Starting teaching. Professional development and in-service training.

Advanced skills teachers. Performance management. Support for teachers. A voice for teachers.

6. Helping pupils achieve; parental support. Discipline and attendance. School leaving date. Out of school learning. Skills for life. Education and Health.

7. A New Partnership; community, aided and foundation schools. School governors. The role of LEAs Finance. Organization of school places. School admissions. Independent schools.

Appendix: achievement in our schools.

We will concentrate here on the first section of the White Paper (A New Approach) that sets out the broad objectives of education policy, the reasons behind them, and the ways in which they will be achieved. This is because this section relates most closely to the theme of governance (though it is also true that the whole document relates to that theme.)

Governance-social inclusion/exclusion

What ideas and categories are presented in this text; are these new, how; what silences are created?

The issue of governance is strongly represented in the introduction to the White Paper. Governance is present in the presentation of government as active, passionate and full of urgency about education, which is "the Government's top priority' (p. 9) . The place of government in the task of producing excellence in schools is a central one; although there are references to "partnership (...) with all those who share our passion" (p. 9) there is a strong impression that policy is to be government-led. There is an emphasis on legislation (stressing how much has already been introduced in pursuit of the Government's aims) and on the increased size and status of the Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) and there is a pledge to increase spending. Outcomes and policies that are central to the achievement of excellence are directly connected to government action; for example, in relation to teachers the following claim is made:

> "Under this government there will be the right balance of pressure and support which will enable us, together, to rise to the challenges of the new millennium" (p. 11).

A further example of Government's central role is apparent here:

> "The government will reduce the extent of early failure in the system by encouraging best practice and effective monitoring with speedy intervention where necessary" (p. 11).

The major actor in policy-making is the government. If we look at the more general issue of what meanings of governance may be read into this document, then we need to follow through the logic of a strong, central lead by government. Thus, although there are references to partnership, the operation of governance sets government in a surveillance and control mode in relation to the various partners, in particular the LEAs and the teachers. I infer this from the ways in which the "problems we face' are outlined. They depend heavily on a diagnosis of failure by the school system, so that success is seen as attainable within that system, if it is better managed by an active government. From this there follows a repertoire of mechanisms that together will ensure better performance; these combine to reflect governance understood as the alteration of people's behavior through a combination of advocacy and surveillance. This is the meaning of the paragraphs that assert that "standards matter more than structures,' "intervention will be in inverse proportion to success,' and "there will be zero tolerance of under-performance.'

Material in the text that connects to this interpretation of what it says about governance as meaning interventions in how people behave and in how they understand their work includes the following:

> "Effective change in a field as dependent on human interaction as education requires millions of people to change their behavior. This will require consistent advocacy and persuasion to create a climate in which schools are constantly challenged (...)" (p. 12).

> "Ideally intervention should be preventive and early, so that severe failure is avoided. The Government intends to put in place arrangements for targeted interventions by LEAs or the DfEE, informed by OFSTED, that are appropriate to the scale of the problem (p. 12).

> "(...)we shall put in place policies which seek to avoid failure. But where failure occurs, we shall tackle it head on. Schools which have been found to be failing will have to improve, make a fresh start, or close. The principle of zero tolerance will also apply to local education authorities. (...) we intend to create an education service in which every school is either excellent, or improving, or both" (p. 12).

> "Government will lead the drive to raise standards and create the right framework, but it cannot succeed alone. It must work in partnership with all those who have a part to play in improving the quality of education: parents, teachers and governors, local authorities, teachers and business. Parents are a child's primary educator and our partnership approach will involve them

> fully. We want to put the years of division, conflict and short-term thinking behind us (...)".
>
> "We will be alert to new ways of working with others to raise standards: new forms of Public/Private Partnership; new forms of collaboration between local and central government; new ways of involving parents in education; new relationships between private and state schools and new ways of involving volunteers and working with voluntary organizations. Our literacy and numeracy targets for 11 year olds (see chapter 2) for example, are not just targets set by the Government to hold the education service to account; but targets set by the Government and the education service together, for which both are jointly accountable" (p. 12).

Although these quotations make reference to partnership, which is not a new idea or category in educational governance, the sense of partnership seems to have changed quite markedly from the traditional three-way relationship of Department, LEAs and teachers. Partnership is now much more diffuse and it is significant that private enterprise is first in the new form that it takes; it seeks to embrace the whole community and tie it into the project of improvement. Partnership is also very obviously unequal, as no amount of reference to the shared nature of the project can conceal the very strong tendency to control and direct it from the center. Responsibility for success (and failure) is diffused throughout the system, but there is, in the tone and tenor of the document, an underlying story of energetic, visionary government with zero tolerance of failure to respond to its vision. (And zero tolerance of dissent from that vision or its chosen means of achieving it).

The silences that are created in this are about the "old' methods of working through professional and official networks of expertise. These are implicated in the creation of the current problem of the failing system, and in the notion of "division, conflict and short-term thinking.' Those silences deny the possibility of alternative agendas for education, other than the improvement of performance. They deny knowledge about the linkages between the social and the educational, and of the conflict about content and process in English education that in turn relates to major divisions of interest. These are extremely powerful and significant silences, and convey Labour's turning away from its past commitment to attempting equality of opportunity through compensatory or targeted provision, or through redesigning the curriculum.

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What ideas and categories are presented about social inclusion/exclusion? Are these new and if so, how? What silences are created?

There is very little in this section of the White Paper on exclusion/inclusion. The principle of including all children as achievers of educational success is evident, and is underlined by the setting out of targets for numeracy and literacy and for school improvement. Achievement is the gateway to inclusion, failure leads to exclusion. There is very little acknowledgment that factors other than those within the school may affect achievement. The strongest indicator that exclusion and inclusion may have social causes is not in the policy proposals themselves but rather in the Secretary of State's Foreword to the document, where he says:

> "To overcome economic and social disadvantage and to make equality of opportunity a reality, we must strive to eliminate, and never excuse, under-achievement in the most deprived areas of the country" (p3).

Economic and social factors are not discussed in any detail anywhere in the document, but may be inferred from the sections on partnership with parents, who are constructed as having duties and obligations in relation to their children's learning and a particular responsibility for discipline and attendance at school. There is a section on exclusions from school (i.e. the circumstances in which disruptive or disaffected students are refused permission to attend school, on either a temporary or permanent basis), which obviously connects to the larger questions of exclusion/inclusion with which we are concerned, but the section is mainly concerned with reducing overall rates of exclusion (which have increased dramatically in recent years) and making appropriate provision for disaffected pupils. There is concern that exclusion from school contributes to low achievement among boys and to crime.

Overall, the meaning of exclusion is firmly connected to achievement – other evidence of exclusion, or other experiences of exclusion, are not admitted. This is undoubtedly part of the policy turn by Labour away from a past preoccupation with exclusion based on social class, but also away from concerns about the ways in which curriculum content and processes worked to exclude groups and classes. Here there is an assumption that the National Curriculum will continue in place (except in EAZs; more about these later), that its content is fixed and non-controversial, and that there is no complexity about raising achievement within that curriculum framework if sufficient energy is applied to the problem. The one-dimensional view of exclusion is nowhere more apparent than in the brief section headed "High Standards for all,' where policy for children with special educational needs is discussed as "raising standards.' There is also an indication of a shift in policy away from "mainstreaming' into some residential, specialist provision. It is asserted that "That is compatible with the principle of inclusive education' (p. 34). A further short section is headed "ethnic minority pupils' and opens as follows:

> "Children from ethnic minority backgrounds now form a tenth of the pupil population. They bring cultural richness and diversity, but some are particularly at risk of under-achievement. Over half-a million do not have English as a first language, and many start school without an adequate grasp of it (...) while the achievements of some ethnic groups are exceptional, others are underperforming and there is an unacceptable and growing gap in performance" (p. 34).

Action to be taken is almost exclusively concerned with monitoring the performance of ethnic minority pupils.

The final reference to the issue of exclusion/inclusion comes in the section of the White Paper on "Modernizing the Comprehensive Principle.' This is a major categorization in relation to exclusion/inclusion. The basis of the comprehensive principle is inclusivity. The principle has always been insecure in England because of the preservation of different types of schools and of formal and informal mechanisms of selection to them.

Selection had increased in response to the marketization of provision and the promotion of choice and diversity by Conservative governments. It was anticipated that Labour would seek to reduce selection but instead the policy turn is towards the achievement of "excellence for all,' so that as standards rise, differences between types of school will not be those of status but reflections of preference. This is encapsulated in the slogan "standards not structures.' It is quite difficult to believe that policy-makers have genuine faith in this strategy, given the overwhelming evidence of a (widening) gap between different types of school. As well as accepting differences in school type, the major principle of modernization is the abandonment of mixed-ability teaching and the encouragement of traditional pedagogies.

> "The demands of the future will require that everyone succeeds in secondary education. We are not going back to the days of the 11 plus; but neither are we prepared to stand still and defend the failings of across the board mixed ability teaching. The debate is sterile and provides no solutions. We intend to modernize comprehensive education to provide inclusive schooling which provides a broad, flexible and motivating education that recognizes the different talents of all children and delivers excellence for everyone" (pp. 37-38).

This policy direction, and the establishment of so-called foundation, community and aided schools, obviously has implications for inclusion/exclusion. It is possible to interpret these categories of schools as representing a hierarchy of provision that will permit selective mechanisms within a framework that claims inclusivity. This interpretation is influenced by extensive research on the tendency of setting by ability to produce and reproduce groups of disaffected and failing pupils (Hargreaves 1967). There is also a strong tendency for diversity in English education to turn into hierarchy, and, of course, the historically-based pattern of provision in different schools that carries forward into foundation and community schools cannot be ignored.

Focusing more specifically on the text, the messages about inclusion and exclusion are about educational success and failure, with a strong theme of employability. There is very little invocation of alternative, and sometimes powerful, versions of exclusion/inclusion in relation to citizenship rights, entitlement, diversity, human development, self-realization etc. Nor is there any discussion of a relationship between inclusion and exclusion despite the fact that it is well-documented in recent educational research in England.

Governance and social exclusion/inclusion?

Some of this has been covered in Section 1 above. The relationship can be seen in two ways. Firstly it may be understood as part of a network of responsibility that is created by a powerful, visionary government that has assumed responsibility for this project and that has identified the responsibilities of others. These are all constituted as publicly visible targets against which performance at all levels can be assessed. The creation of this network of responsibilities makes it difficult to work outside of it or in any way against it; it is inclusive in its requirement that everyone "signs up' to the project. It permits government to exert a good deal of moral authority in its management of the partnership, while at the same time the comprehensive nature of its concerns permits it to regard those who do not succeed as having excluded themselves. They are thus not victims but perpetrators of their own failure.

Some of this may be inferred from the short section (6) which deals with parents. It is assumed throughout that "family life' is a construct that has only one meaning, and that is universally understood and experienced. Parents are sternly reminded of their responsibilities and, indeed, various mechanisms are put in place to ensure that they fulfill these responsibilities, for example through home-school contracts, homework agreements (which include limiting the time children spend watching television) and agreements of accepting responsibility for behavior and regular attendance.

The second way in which the relationship between governance and exclusion/inclusion may be understood is through the mechanisms of control and surveillance which appear on almost every page of this document. As well as the proliferation of targets, there is a constant preoccupation with finding ways of ensuring that these targets are met through various forms of inspection and audit. The consequences of failure in any of these forms are very severe; they include financial penalties, failure in the competitive league tables of performance leading to recruitment problems, and career consequences. It is a very punitive regime, but it also binds people together in relationships of anxiety and guilt, and self-surveillance. It is strongly homogenizing, both in its impact on "partners' and in its impact on learning and teaching.

Construction of Narrative

What story is being presented? Is it new? If so, how? What silences
are created in this?

Importantly, the story that supports these versions of governance and government is one of economically-driven change. Excellence in education is necessary for economic productivity:

> "Education is the key to creating a society which is dynamic and productive, offering opportunity and fairness to all. It is the Government's top priority. We will work in partnership with all those who share our passion and sense of urgency for higher standards" (p. 9).
>
> "Learning can unlock the treasure that lies within us all. In the 21st century, knowledge and skills will be the key to success. Our goal is a society in which everyone is well-educated and able to learn throughout life. Britain's economic prosperity and social cohesion both depend on achieving that goal" (p. 9).

> “We face new challenges at home and from international competitors, such as the Pacific Rim countries. They do not rely on market forces alone in education and neither should we. It is time now to get to the heart of raising standards-improving the quality of teaching and learning” (p. 11).

This is a new narrative, in its single-minded emphasis on education as the servant of the economy. That has not been a dominant motif in English education, where policy-makers have been ambivalent about the economizing of education, and where the influence of elite provision and tradition has diluted the impact of vocationalism, at least in some types of schooling. The images are those of future success linked to transformation in the culture. That transformation is “modernization,’ in which old habits and practices are stripped away, and learning replaces teaching at the heart of the education enterprise. Schools become the hubs of learning networks, in which many people participate, using ICT. Performance is everything; the appendix sets out figures comparing levels of achievement in English schools with those in continental Europe and in Singapore, Korea and Japan.

The brightness of the vision of the future depends in part on its contrast with past practices and preoccupations. In particular it is dependent on its narrative of past failure. Throughout the White Paper, sometimes directly and sometimes by omission, there is an analysis of English educational provision that suggests that it is failing the average and below-average pupil because it is too elitist (a conventional Labour position) but also because comprehensive schooling produced uniformity and a belief that “all had the same ability’ (p. 11). This refusal to engage with, or even admit past practices, structures and doctrines helps to identify the silences regarding the relationship between governance and social exclusion/inclusion.

A major silence concerns resources. It is interesting that the foreword, by the Secretary of State for Education, states that “[r]esources are not the sole answer to delivering our objectives’ and goes on to remind readers that the first budget of this government had provided additional resources for education. Towards the end of this first section there is a brief note to the effect that “we recognize that effective support also requires investment; that is our deal with parents, pupils and teachers’ (p.13). Details of investment are not forthcoming; there is thus a silence around the role of government as provider. A further silence concerns the purposes of education, beyond the drive towards economic competitiveness. This inhibits the development of a progressive relationship between governance and exclusion/inclusion. There is some discussion of agendas beyond the economic, but these are rather muted and unspecific, particularly in comparison with the clarity of targets for improved literacy and numeracy, and general raising of standards. Here are these references:

> "A good education provides access to this country's rich and diverse culture, to its history and to an understanding of its place in the world. It offers opportunities to gain insight into the best that has been thought and said and done" (p. 9).

Note the modernized reference to Matthew Arnold's famous 19th century definition of culture as the "best that has been thought and said.' There is something oddly static and old-fashioned about this paragraph that makes it read like a necessary but rather empty gesture of reassurance. Then we have:

> "There are wider goals of education which are also important. Schools, along with families, have a responsibility to ensure that children and young people learn respect for others and for themselves. They need to appreciate and understand the moral code on which civilized society is based and to appreciate the culture and background of others. They need to develop the strength of character and attitudes to life and work, such as responsibility, determination, care and generosity, which will enable them to become citizens of a successful democratic society" (p. 10).

This seems a highly compressed version of the complex sets of aims for education that are usually organized around personal and social development, political capacity and citizenship. It is a set of propositions that brings together some ideas that are in uneasy juxtaposition, for example what is the moral code and the "culture and background of others' (who are the "others'?). It is also interesting that the concept of "success' is attached to democracy, thereby placing the economic agenda alongside the social/political.

What is the logic/discursive construction of the argument etc.?

The logic of the argument and its discursive construction have to do with acceptance of an economizing agenda and a drive towards its successful achievement. As noted earlier, the tone of the White Paper is dirigiste, with little trace of hesitancy, possibility of dissent or opportunity for discussion. There is a constant motif of certainty: things will happen, there will be, we will have, standards will rise. It is a tone that is very instructive in terms of understanding how the new Labour administration understands policy-making. It is a valuable source of information on the model of governance that lies behind policy. It is a highly centralist and managerialist model.

In what context is the argument to be placed etc.?

There is an immediate political context that is reflected in the idea of “modernization’ and its centrality for “new’ Labour. This means that policy-makers are determined to place distance between themselves and the past, either by ignoring it or by constructing it as mistaken. This is quite a large task for New Labour in relation to education, because of the sophistication of its past constructions of possibility in education, its fairly radical development from equality of opportunity to equality of outcome, and its emotional attachment to education as a vehicle for redistribution and social justice. It is therefore very instructive to consider the context that is created by omission here. The absence of consideration for inequality, and the substitution of underachievement for in-equality is highly significant. Although this is not discussed or defended in any detail, but rather implicit in the tone and direction of the document, the solution to exclusion is greater educational success, leading to greater employability. This in turn signals the importance of the global economic context for the document, as beneath that assumption must lie the belief that if the workforce is sufficiently skilled, then global capital will be attracted to the UK and so ensure economic success. Acceptance of this prescription permits a reading of the White Paper as a heroic and innovative policy text, reversing past policy in both its content and its form; making public commitments and accepting responsibility for system redesign to an unprecedented degree. It can be read as an attempt to break free of the habits and prescriptions of the past, to deny the effects of past patterns, to transform the culture of English education. Thus it is not simply a policy text, but a text that seeks to establish the discursive frameworks that shape possibilities for policy.

Text Analysis 2: David Hargreaves “The Mosaic of Learning: Schools and Teachers for the Next Century’

Context

David Hargreaves is a professor of education at the University of Cambridge and was an adviser to the last government and is a key adviser on education to this government. He has been placed on many key quasi-governmental agencies, working parties and advisory groups. At the moment, he is an adviser to the Standards and Effectiveness Task Force in the DfEE and a Council member of the Teacher Training Agency. He is part of a new kind of policy network of advisers (unelected advisers) of which there are many in this government. His paper for DEMOS was their first publication on education. Demos is a radical center-left think tank which occupies new ground and influences Labour policies and approaches. Its first director is now an adviser to Blair. It tries to offer radical solutions (it grew out of the demise of the popular Marxism Today) to long term problems. This pamphlet reflects upon the problems with the first wave Conservative reform of education but is seen as a “radical vision tempered by realism’ and tries to transcend impositions from above and defensive inertia from below (back cover).

Governance – Social Exclusion/Inclusion

The focus of the argument is not directly about social exclusion/ inclusion but it is about educational governance. The driving force of the argument is derived from the necessity to compete effectively in the world and the consequent need to raise achievement and standards. Indeed, a way to express the problem for Hargreaves is to describe the need for a “better educated product’ (p5). He does use an argument, derived from an annual lecture (the Reith lecture in 1990) by a conservative theologian, that poverty, for example, is resistant to government intervention and that the government should work to create or enable mediating structures between the individual and the state and to do so within a piecemeal approach to reform. There can be no “utopian social engineering’ anymore, only experimental micro interventions. Hargreaves does refer to “social cohesion’: this refers to the need to harmonize different social and cultural traditions in a plural society and is in turn, turned into a question of civic and moral education. His concern for avoiding “intercommunity conflicts’ means that social cohesion could also be achieved by opening out the school to parents and others so that a new civic practice could develop.

b) Hargreaves is opposed to centralizing governments and to utopianism. He has few direct proposals about changes to the government of education although his notion of a revived, flexible school will involve a new business/school relation viz.

> “traffic between schools and business and industry ought to be two way”.(p26)
>
> “for education to follow Japan and best industrial practice would mean abandoning traditional inspection and quality control in favour of customer-oriented quality assurance and total quality” (p49).

He is intent on reforming the school but his proposition is based on the idea of micro social change and social experiments, like clinical experiments or medical trials. The idea of experiment is the main notion within governance in the paper but mainly at the level of the school (as an outdated institution). It is a modern company notion of change he is working with, in which constant micro interventions are made into methods of production, personnel, contracts etc. Practical experiments in one section will be rolled over into new areas of work (this model is called “evidence based practice’ by Hargreaves and others in recent documents). Government should create policies in education based on “rigorous trial and test’ and schools should be “permeable’ to the outside (business and community) world.

Governance will be based on corporate models: “vision’ will be the work of central government and schools will exist within a “mosaic world of institutional fluidity, multiple or portfolio work styles and highly distinctive sub-communities’ (p56). Raising performance and quality of schooling will bind together the whole.

Constructing Narratives

The saga is constructed around the belief, held by “virtually everybody’ (p1) that our schools ought to be better and that the “pace of change’ and endemic reform of education worldwide will continue. But if this is a story of progress then it is at a critical point. The old story of “educational revolutions’ (a 60s Labour “comprehensive schools’ story and an 80s and 90s Conservative “markets and national curriculum’ story) is seen as a story of failure, a denial of “reality’ and a “macho’ redefinition of the size of the task ahead. Each narrative is seen as the enforcement of a particular “common sense’ and Hargreaves’ own narrative tries to silence it by reference to its utopianism and hidden theorizing.

> “This new story of progress must begin with a new landscape: A now more urgent need to raise educational standards, in the face of increasing international competition, and to produce a nation where the average level of achievement is far higher than it is today [becomes] such a powerful driver for change that many hitherto taken-for-granted assumptions about schools must now be questioned” (p3).

So, like many good stories, this one must begin with questions, questions derived from this new description of the landscape the traveler must cross. The landscape and the quest are now in place, and so is the danger, because if all else fails, the old, predictable landscape of social life will have been replaced, except for: “(the schools) protruding from the landscape like carcasses of the factories on which they were modeled, out of their time and beyond anybody’s power to make them efficient’ (p56). The traveler (representing most people?) is then able to think powerful, new thoughts –

for example, how much time should students spend in school? Should citizenship education be optional? Should Islamic schools be encouraged? The traveler asks these questions because higher standards need to be set and more people need to achieve them. The traveler is advised not look behind but only to the future, for the past is "tiresome and irrelevant,' with inconsistent evidence, inaccuracy and nostalgia and no guide to action.

Although the traveler is to be armed with radical questions, she/he is reminded to avoid idealism (whether market or equality) and take a dose of Popperian "piecemeal approach to reform – detecting weaknesses and failures (...) undertaking the necessary experiments and readjustments to set things right' (p10).

The narrative has its own chorus, commenting on the advice to the traveler. This is a counterpoint to the story, underlining the need for action but also reminding the listener that there are going to be problems or diversions on the way. One significant form of resistance is provided by "professional and institutional structures and cultures'; these are seen as the real barrier to change. The other is "the increasing collapse of community social controls and shared moral and religious values (p. 40). They are pitfalls within the narrative, focused on radical questions and realistic methods, as they operate at a deeper, unseen level.

During the course of the narrative, the traveler has to be aware of false friends, those people who are not among the "virtually everybody,' and must not be led astray by them. These are the "unreconstructed Left' (p1), "lefty theorists and troublemakers (in teaching) (p54), Conservative "educational revolutionaries' (p2), the "inadequately educated' (p5) and most of all, any representatives of the past (past Secretaries of State for Education, governments, legislation etc.). Heroes are often named: Sir John Banham (a past leader of the employers' federation), Karl Popper, Jonathan Sacks (ex-Chief Rabbi), Philip Jackson, Ivan Illich (though he was "utopian' p. 12), Ted Sizer, Peter Drucker, Charles Handy, British political philosophers (Hobbes, Smith, Burke, Stuart Mill etc.) and Amitia Etzioni. They represent international management consultants, past conservative political theorists, conservative moral/sociological commentators and two past educationalists.

To encourage the traveler, the narrator digs at the foundations of substantial structures in the landscape which might block the way: schools are revealed as primarily based on a custodial function; universities are seen as operating controls on qualifications by means of self-serving devices; and intelligence is perceived to be narrowly defined. Then the traveler is inspired by the possibilities for change: these are like beneficial seeds "which could germinate and flower in the next twenty years' (p18); or they are "on the horizon' (p24); they "should take their own shape and follow their own evolutionary path' (p30) or they could "follow Japan and the best industrial practice' (p49).

Faced with resistance and doubt, the hazards of prediction or our limited understanding, the narrator encourages the traveler to debate the future. The traveler is finally revealed, in the last pages of the narrative, as a new political leader, armed by the journey, succeeding against the odds, confirmed in his faith:

> "(...) [with] a playful attitude to ideas and alternatives, a readiness to experiment and mount clinical trials, a pragmatic philosophy that will learn from experience [and] an enthusiasm to carry teachers, parents and employers forward (...)" (p55).

Although the paper seems to view itself, and to be viewed within its publishing context, as a radical intervention in educational policy, for all its iconoclasm it is saying little. What it did do is to provide an agenda for change and a justification of change. It is an explanation of why it is necessary to change schools and teachers, to modernize them as a form of production and to overcome their objections and arguments. It is in this way that it has a power as a text. The new Labour government, particularly Blair, has moved with the flow of this narrative; indeed it can be read as an early Third Way text. The Government acts within micro interventions (like the Education Action Zones) but within an iconoclastic agenda (reforming schools, raising standards and changing teachers). Its emphasis on new technologies, moral education, research and effectiveness, modernizing schools through privatization etc. has become the mix in which governance and exclusion are being shaped and managed in the late 90s.

Citizen-State-World Relations

The main impression offered by this text of educational subjects is its concern with teachers. They are simultaneously the restless and experimental future and the demoralized closed profession; they are the contracted out and flexible teachers of the future and the powerful, self-reproducing monopolies of today; they are the collegial teamworker of tomorrow and the inhabitants of a resistant professional culture of today. Teachers are both included and excluded in this text. In the main, they are praised for their future and condemned for their past. They are the objects of blame; unchanging classrooms, contrived and formal instruction, conniving with the incompetent, low standards in their work – all are the teacher's problem.

The narrative soon centers around the question of how to better organize the “schools, classrooms and teaching profession' (p. 9). Organizing the teacher of the future involves the following :

- the creation of differentiated and specialized schools requires the employment of teachers, who have chosen the school or been chosen by it, because of their commitment to the school's religious or educational philosophy (the demand for commitment and the right to exclude p21)
- the creation of a differentiated personnel in schools, separating administration and management from academic and pedagogical functions, and the consequent requirement that teachers spend more time teaching and are promoted into teaching (the master teacher p23) rather than out of it (into management)
- the creation of graduate teachers (“doctors') and assistant teachers (“nurses') (p24); teachers on renewable five-year contracts and performance pay; contracting out via portfolio teachers (p26), employed in multiple careers, working in school part time or on short contract;
- the removal of control over teaching by universities and teacher trainers with their “close minded antagonism to any reforms' (p29) and so the removal of extensive and expensive teacher training from higher education

The consequence of these direct proposals (some of the most specific in the paper) is that teachers are being reconstructed. Indeed the idea of the teacher is so significantly altered (in relation to the discourses of the last fifty years) that a whole new construction has taken place which silences the past: the “past' is professionalism, teacher associations, political projects for equality, relations with universities, career development, public service values and identity etc.

The State and civil society are not actors within this argument. There is a silence about the past (expressed as utopianism or left theorizing) and an indifference to the successes of the present system of organizing education (rather than current school successes). The model which underlies the approach taken is that of the business model, particularly the Japanese firm, seen as reconstituting itself through a continual process of review. So, if schools can be made independent of "macho' government, they could be free to recreate themselves in flexible and innovative ways. Effective products for a competitive world is the goal.

So, the shift to the level of the school excludes the old relation between education and society; if the school is a company then its relations to its local community are turned into producer/consumer relations, not within forms of organized citizenry or a public discourse of public service. All this innovatory language and possibilities disguise the reductionism of the view taken. There is no other way of conceiving institutions in a democracy except as private companies. Companies are not driven by altruism or the politics of equality but by efficiencies for maximizing profit, by product innovation, marketing and by producer/consumer relations. If social exclusion was to be managed within this world view then it would be as a form of profit-based activity for a school (or private company moving into education) and there is evidence of this in the UK. Firstly, in the growth of private companies in the old "education sector' when it has been opened to competition, for example the growth of nursery education in the 90s is mainly private and the management of "failing schools' for profit is about to take place. Secondly, the conditions for development of a school would need to be guaranteed by government action on issues of social exclusion, since otherwise the school could not overcome its local operational conditions. For example, a system of regulation would be needed or interventions into housing policy or local employment initiatives taken by other agencies.

Text Analysis 3: Education Action Zones

The Education Action Zones are first mentioned in the White Paper, Excellence in Schools, and since the early days of the new government, the idea of "zones' appeared as a key idea in managing social policy (they appear in employment and in health). They appear to be central to the ideas of the Third Way which concentrate on inter-institutional management of policy, interprofessional links and partnership between the private and public sector.

The Zones are in their first year of foundation (1999) and although they were formed with reference to exclusion and are examples of new forms of governance, it is not yet clear what identities they are creating for themselves. For example, the Birmingham EAZ has a strong emphasis on social exclusion rather than business partnership, while another Zone might have this relation reversed. The place of business management and finance in these Zones has been emphasized again recently by the government. (Texts: 4 Press Releases on EAZs (PR) and Secretary of State Message on EAZs (Sec) - (late 97/early 98)

Governance – Social Inclusion/Exclusion

New ways to govern schools are expressed within an inclusive language in which new and old "partners' are encouraged to work together, for example,

> "new and exciting ways for schools, LEAs. Parents, business and community organizations to raise standards" (Sec).
>
> "(...) local clusters of schools – usually a mix of not more than 20 primary, secondary and special schools – working in a new partnership with the LEA, local parents, businesses, TECs and others" (Sec).
>
> "fresh ideas and flexible approaches which these local partnerships will bring to schools within zones" (Sec).

However "partnership' is not a new word in the English context of educational governance. It was the most common way of expressing the relationship of government between central and local government and teacher associations in the mid decades of the century. It has begun to mean a shared responsibility for managing parts of the system between public and private sector institutions, particularly the business and commercial sector, sometimes voluntary or charitable groups viz.

> "(...) These partnerships will build on local networks already in place; in others, new ones will be created. The partnership will certainly involve a central role for business. It might also draw in local and national agencies and charities involved in, for example, health care, social care and crime prevention" (Sec).

So, in the Action Zones Forum, the managing group of the Zones, will have

> "members (...) selected locally and could include participating schools, the LEA, local and national businesses, the TEC, religious bodies, voluntary and community organizations and other local government, health and agencies. The Secretary of State may also appoint a representative" (Sec).

Partnership also means a new relationship between public sector agencies as a "key feature will be a multi-agency approach working with parallel initiatives on employment, health and social services' (PR).

However the future belongs to business, emphasized throughout to be the new significant partner:

> “This is a great opportunity for the business world to play a direct and central role in the management and leadership of the EAZs. EAZs are an exciting way forward in education and may well form a blueprint for education in the next millennium” (PR).

The silence is in the lack of reference to the old “partner’ of the post war decades, the teachers associations. With central and local government, they were regarded as the lynch pin of the particular form of English democratic governance, emphasized in the past as distinguishing this system from Soviet Russia and Germany.

Social Exclusion

The Zones are representative of the new thinking on social exclusion which emanates from the Social Exclusion Unit, a new cross-departmental unit of government. Its reference points appear to be an emphasis on public and private partnerships and effective cross public sector departmental work, both of which can be seen as constitutive of the new Third Way in social policy. Social exclusion can be defined as “deprivation’ (an older term, associated with equality of opportunity and post war social policy) but it is now linked to school performance; it can be overcome if schools and connected agencies work effectively. The social exclusion strategies are not primarily defined as economic and they tend to refer to poverty as the basis for action viz.

> “EAZs demonstrate our determination to raise school standards for everyone- including those children in deprived rural and inner city areas (...). We have said time and time again that poverty is no excuse for failure. We have many examples of teachers succeeding against the odds in deprived rural and urban areas” (PR).

> “A new crusade to uniting business, schools, local education authorities and parents to modernize education in areas of social deprivation (...). We cannot afford to continue to have areas of inner city, or suburban or rural blight where young people are given a wholly inadequate education and tend to pass that on from one generation to another (...). To make sure that young people in deprived areas get a fair educational start in life” (PR).

The connection between school improvement and social exclusion is a new category relation. In the recent past, schooling was linked to later life chances but it was rarely seen as significant in itself when connected to areas of poverty. This relation has been reversed today: poverty is not seen as significant as school performance. The institution has been recast so that it is obliged to succeed regardless of the economic conditions prevailing in its locality.

Social Exclusion and Governance

“Flexibility and innovation’ are the new keywords, connecting social exclusion and new forms of governance. These two words are used in several places, usually in the form of “encouraging innovation’ with “additional flexibility.’ Other keywords are “raising standards,’ problem and imagination; also, “networks, links and enhancing the LEA.’

Flexibility is associated with “rewards for outstanding performance (...). Ability to pilot advanced skills teachers (...) Changing the emphasis of the national curriculum (towards literacy and numeracy). (PR)

> “We are today looking to innovators in the education and business who will make best use of a new flexibility which comes with EAZs” (PR).

Flexibility and innovation connect social exclusion and governance in powerful ways in the documents about the Zones; the former can’t be tackled without the latter. Yet they are most associated with changes to teachers’ work and school hours and activities or with the necessity to involve new forms of local involvement/partnership. The emphasis on teachers’ work is strong in the document, so much so that there is an implied argument that social exclusion can only be changed with a change to teachers’ work and that social exclusion may even be the result of ineffectiveness in schools by teachers (or at least some teachers).

Construction of Narrative

The saga is a new one although it is now hegemonic. It is about the drive to raise standards in schools, and in particular, it is the story of the new hero and our new storyteller, the Labour Government, determined to overcome all odds and radically alter the education system especially in areas of deprivation. It is a sign of the importance of this story as it is told that all the actions taken, however difficult, are justified by the seriousness of the subject. The hero has a new flag, the government will “raise the standard’ in/over schools.

In the course of the story, the storyteller tries to show how the hero will overcome a number of problems. The hero will “boost’ school improvement; turn the “struggling’ school around; “tackle’ incompetent teachers; refuse to “excuse failure’; “produce excellence in difficult conditions.’ The hero is not alone, sometimes encouraging partners (the LEA, business and the community) and sometimes appealing to everybody to “help us make it work.’ The saga must not be completed alone, the hero invites innovators “to help invent the educational future.’ Thankfully, they do: in the earliest stages of the saga, the hero talks of “nation wide enthusiasm', and a "very positive response' for the idea of the EAZs. This renews the confidence of the hero and the saga then talks of acceleration of the program and how "we won't be stopping there".

If this story is new, it is because it is unusual for a single saga to be created so swiftly and positively at the outset. This is not a note about a technical device or a reorganization of administration or a list of priorities: it is a story about a quest. The silences are deep: nobody is excluded, reassurance is constant and the future is un-threatening. Silence is encouraged/threatened by the moral order of the saga, for who does not wish to create the future, help raise standards and join the "revolution" or would "let down' children. There is a Sherlock Holmes story in which the main clue is the fact that the "dog did not bark in the night". The silence in this saga is about the past in which there was another discourse about the democratic and public ordering of education, the separation of central and local government and business and the partnership of teachers in the system. In a way, this saga is meant to reveal a silence in the past through its emphases and "noise" – wasn't the past serious about its citizens, their education, housing and employment and didn't it really care about the excluded ?

Citizen–State–World Relations

In several ways, the texts don't have subjects at all but objects. The focus is institutional; it is on the new zones, the schools and the partnerships. It is on the actions which the institutions are enabled to do or, failing that, will be punished for not doing. Pupils are viewed in the mass: institutions will aim to improve their attainment, tackle their poor behavior, measure and monitor them, extend their access hours or develop new sites or offer them a new curriculum. To overcome their "wholly inadequate education' and to give them a "fair educational start,' pupils have become objects to be managed more effectively. As the zones include health and probation/police links, the pupil as object is contained within a spatial boundary of a new formal significance.

The teacher is also an object. The new institutions, zone schools, will probably extend their hours, tighten the specification of their work, reward or punish their performance and will be governed differently. They will be given "strong leadership' by their headteachers and senior staff, and they will either be flexible or be made to be flexible and innovative. There will be more of them, their administrative work will be reduced and other adults will join them. As a group, some teachers are praised for "succeeding against the odds’ (Sec) and these are to be supported. Others, who are incompetent, will be removed.

The difficulties of analyzing this new discourse, and as a teacher placing oneself within it, is symbolized by the idea of a “Fresh Start.’ The saga excludes the possibility of its own contestation; there cannot be opposition to the plan, only insufficient progress within it. For example, a school will be “offered’ help to succeed; it will be offered leadership, skilled teachers, new strategies and “if necessary a Fresh Start’ (Sec). In a press release, a Fresh Start (an offer made to teachers) is described as “closing the school and re-opening it on a new site with a new head and some new staff and a new name.’ Teachers may be “offered’ the chance to leave the heroic story for ever!

The relation between social exclusion and globalization in the texts is not overt. In contrast to older social policy texts in the UK, social exclusion is treated as a problem limited by its geographical (rural and inner city) boundaries (not by a wider definition of social class or ethnicity or as a process etc.). It has no powerful discourse associated with it, neither materialist nor modernizing. The texts are full of encouraging talk and ideas about action but are nearer in tone to company plans or reports than a major social policy. Perhaps this is the connection to globalization; social exclusion is treated as a micro problem, identified with institutional efficiency and managed within a business plan. If flexibility and innovation work, then the zones will have been a form of experimental public laboratory in which business (and other forms of voluntary organization) will have been able to “model’ solutions to social exclusion which the state has failed to use. In which case it is no coincidence that it is teachers and schools that are being reconstructed first so that the business plan can define social exclusion in manageable ways.

Scotland

Introduction to the Scottish Policy Texts: Scotland within the UK

The Scottish policy texts illustrate a particular layer of complexity in our concerns to explore government/governance and policy for social inclusion in Europe, because they emerge from a political context of major constitutional change. They are thus to be read not only as texts reflecting Scottish policy on social exclusion/inclusion, but also as indicators of difference from English policy.

At the time of writing this report, the UK government has responsibility for overall policy throughout England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, but (as is pointed out in the case study) Scotland already has considerable devolved powers in policy-making for the major public services, which are operated through the Scottish Office in Edinburgh. The New Labour government elected in May 1997 extended these powers by granting separate parliaments (Assemblies) to Scotland and Wales, that came into being in May 1999. In the run up to the establishment of a Scottish Assembly, there was considerable debate about how devolution would work, about the kind of society that Scotland should be and about its reference points beyond Westminster and Whitehall and into Europe. The debate and discussion were fueled in Scotland by the release from the long period of Conservative political control in the UK, which was experienced as almost colonial in its assumption that English policy could be applied throughout the UK, and particularly in Scotland, which never voted for Conservative rule. The New Labour victory was understood in Scotland as providing opportunities to reverse Conservative/English trends in policy (notably those tending to privatization, competition and individualism). This has produced tensions within the Labour government, who are not enthusiastic about a revival of old forms of government associated with "old' Labour, and who are identified with a modernizing agenda that breaks with the past and encourages "responsibilization.'

As a consequence the Labour party in Scotland is struggling to present the Assembly as a satisfactory solution to demands for Scottish policy, and argue that it provides sufficient divergence from English policy-making to reflect a Scottish ethos. However the new Assembly is not responsible for Employment policy (which remains a UK issue) and its powers to vary tax levels are limited. That, and the fact that New Labour have so far managed Scottish politics quite ineptly, suggests that tensions will increase, particularly as support for full independence for Scotland as a "small, strong nation state within Europe' appears to be growing.

As a result of this complex background, policy-makers in Scotland are under pressure to find a balance between the need to appear part of a distinctive Scottish tradition (collectivist and interventionist) while remaining connected to the UK Labour government agenda. In areas like education and social inclusion/exclusion, this is unmanageable. Reading the English policy texts on Social Exclusion (produced by the Social Exclusion Unit in the Cabinet Office) alongside the Scottish Inclusion Network texts provides evidence of marked differences in approach. Thus some of the text analyzed below has to be understood as written *against* the English text, and reflects the assertion of difference as well as emergent differences in an unstable policy context.

We have spent time on this background in order to clarify the ways in which these texts are being written and read. In particular, the substantial differences between the English and Scottish texts are as follows: The English texts directly dealing with exclusion/inclusion place heavy emphasis on the economic need for skills development and employment as a contribution to economic health, and the global agenda of business seeking secure and skilled environments is stressed. There are strong elements of moral panic within them, for example in the emphasis on criminal behavior and concern about anti-social, disaffected attitudes. There is a strong disciplinary tone, accompanied by promotion of individual responsibility and condemnation of state-sponsored dependency. The Scottish texts offer a complete contrast, as we shall see. From the point of view of EGSIE, this is an interesting example of the potential of devolved governance to exploit spaces where “public’ agendas remain embedded, and where they operate in alliance with social forces resistant to corporate, colonizing cultures, drawing on an (imagined?) European community for support.

Text Analysis 1: The Social Inclusion Initiative

The policy text selected here is the Scottish Office consultation paper “Social exclusion in Scotland’ and the public response to it. I have treated these texts as one, because they offer an example of dialogue between the formal policy structures and the wider community. This policy initiative arose from the Prime Minister’s announcement of a Social Exclusion Unit in the Cabinet Office, with a remit for England and Wales. It is an example of the oddness of the current configuration of the UK that it would not be possible to have such a policy development in only one part of it, implying, perhaps, that there was no problem elsewhere. Scottish ministers would have wished to exploit the capacity of this initiative for delivering additional resources from the UK Treasury. The emphasis on resources and on exclusion as a problem of poverty is characteristic of the Scottish approach and exemplified in this statement by the Secretary of State for Scotland:

> "Scotland faces serious problems-unemployment, poor housing, ill health, crime, social exclusion-which must be overcome. But Scotland also has strength".
>
> "The commitment and ingenuity of the people of Scotland are a formidable advantage in any field in which they share a common purpose. I believe we do share a common purpose: tackling social exclusion, in all its forms, matters not only to the Scottish Office, but to Scots everywhere".
>
> "The Scottish Office has an important role to play. It brings together and coordinates a range of responsibilities spread across half a dozen or more Whitehall departments. I and my ministerial team are determined to make the most of that advantage".
>
> "We have a proud tradition in Scotland of working to tackle social division. We have developed innovative responses to social problems, many of which are now being promoted within the UK as models of good practice. We have a body of people (...) who are committed to creating a fairer society in Scotland".
>
> "And in the not too distant future we will have a Scottish parliament, which will give us the opportunity to develop Scottish solutions to Scottish needs, and bring the arm of government closer to the needs of the people".
>
> "Devolution matters. It will let us take decisions which affect us here in Scotland. It is an important principle, an end in itself; but it is a means to other ends, and none more important than the creation of a socially cohesive Scotland" (Dewar, Nov. 3rd 1998)

This statement helps us identify some of the differences from English policy on the same issue, for example: "joined up' policy making. This is a big idea in the English context, while here it is claimed to be already in existence. Also, there is a cultural commitment to fairness/inclusivity; this identifies a key difference claimed by the Scots.

Turning now to the text itself, this is a policy text prepared by civil servants in the Scottish Office, and publicly available at its website. The first part of the document sets out the issues as perceived by the policy makers, proposals for dealing with them, and questions/issues for comment by the general public. The second part summarizes these comments.

Governance Social Exclusion/Inclusion

The categories of governance presented here are the formal mechanisms of government in Scotland, especially the Scottish Office, which is seen to be the major policy-maker in this area to be providing the leadership and taking the main responsibility. A network of officials from within the Scottish Office from different policy areas (housing, area regeneration, health, crime, education and social work services) is to be formed to devise and coordinate responses to the policy problem of social exclusion. This body (which represent Scottish central government) is to look for assistance to a number of formal, public sector organizations as well as to the private and voluntary sectors, for example Local Government and the National Health Service, as well as housing associations and communities. The main role is clearly to be played by the major Scottish government body, acting through its permanent staff (i.e. officials not politicians) who are seen to be drawing on/selecting from a range of appropriate expertise.

It is to be noted that the document acknowledges the existence of the Social Exclusion Unit in the cabinet Office, but emphasizes the need for a separate Scottish policy, and for recognition of the part played in policy-making by the future Scottish Parliament:

> "The Secretary of State attaches high priority to tackling social exclusion in Scotland. This needs to reflect Scottish circumstances, and the organizational, social and cultural framework of Scotland. There is also a need to look forward to the advent of a Scottish Parliament, and to begin the process of policy formulation which will be further developed by the Parliament. The Secretary of State is keen to develop an inclusive approach to the development of a social exclusion agenda in Scotland; he would welcome contributions to analysis and thinking from all those with a contribution to make" (Para 5).

Although there is considerable emphasis on government responsibility there is also acknowledgment that government action alone is insufficient. That a strong lead is necessary is understood by the following paragraph, which demands contributions from others:

> "Social exclusion will not be tackled by government alone. Contributions will be required from all sectors of Scottish society, including local government, the enterprise network, the NHS, Scottish Homes, housing associations, regeneration partnerships, the private sector, the voluntary sector, and local community organizations. Academic bodies will also have a role to play in the analysis of social exclusion, and the evaluation of measures taken to tackle the problem" (Para 34).

The response to consultation seeks to expand this rather formal definition of government through expansion of the Network to include external organizations and agencies and also "those people who are socially excluded.' This part of the text proposes that the Network should promote the establishment of small local fora. Consultation responses suggested that "an integrated, partnership approach to the promotion of social inclusion' was required, and local authorities were identified as having a stronger role than in the original proposals because of their experience and closeness to communities. The references to governance in these texts are to the civic and citizenship elements that stress entitlement and responsibility.

These ideas and categories contain elements of old and new. The new element lies in the Scottish Parliament, and this produces a stronger note of separate treatment than has been found in policy texts in the past, and especially under the Conservatives. The older elements are to be found in the assumption of responsibility and leadership by the Scottish Office, and especially the role of officials. The coming together of old and new can be seen in the "responses' part of the document, which shows how the old culture of the Scottish Office as "in charge' is blended into new forms of consultation and openness. This is particularly marked where the Scottish Office takes on the need for representation by socially excluded people:

> "The Government wishes to consult widely about what further action will be the most effective way of achieving an inclusive society. Much will depend on the responses to this paper; how the people of Scotland define the problem (...)"

Above all the input of those excluded was seen as critical, not only for their input but their ownership and sense of responsibility for the process. Lack of self-esteem and pride were seen as critical factors in social exclusion, and the need to address this was identified as a priority.

Overall the balance between old and new is towards old, but within a newly developing context. The document is taking forward and adapting a very traditional view of Scottish government as problem-solving and rational (a).

Silences

These relate to alternatives to this presentation, in which Scottish government might be viewed as complacent, elitist, and responsible for the failures that have produced exclusion, at least in part because of the propagation of various myths of enlightenment and progress. The capacity to blame others (i.e. English-dominated politics) for the current situation is no doubt useful here, as is the need to maintain myths in order to promote devolution. There are also silences about other forms of governance, notably governance of the self (i.e., responsibilitization) which are very dominant in English documents.

Social inclusion/exclusion

The text deals directly with social exclusion/inclusion. It is presented as a policy problem that has to do centrally with exclusion from "full participation in society.’ There is an emphasis on the need to ensure that everyone is included because that is their entitlement; this is not a discourse about blame. Rather the responsibility is on the more fortunate to ensure fairer distribution of opportunities:

> “Too many Scots are excluded, by virtue of unemployment, low skill levels, poverty, bad health, poor housing or other factors, from full participation in society. Those of us who benefit from the opportunities of life in modern Scotland have a duty to seek to extend similar opportunities to those who do not(...)”.

While the response part of the text notes that:

> “There was an overwhelming desire to see redistribution of wealth through the reform of taxation and benefits system at the UK level, particularly with measures to address the poverty trap”.

The ways in which the problem is defined immediately suggest that this is something “done to’ and “suffered by’ people, rather than something for which they may be responsible:

Social Exclusion in Scotland; defining the problem

> “Social exclusion is a shorthand label for what can happen when individuals or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown”.

The areas for action are all to do with service provision (health; education; community safety; housing, including homelessness; childcare; transport), again supporting the point that this is a failure of opportunity, rather than some individual shortcoming. There is a particular emphasis on exclusion suffered by people in rural areas.

The response part of the document stresses agreement with the government’s approach but suggests that policy should be reoriented from talking about social exclusion to “promoting social inclusion’:

> “There was wide support for defining inclusion in terms of citizens’ rights and responsibilities. Particular emphasis was placed by many respondents on the need for any definition to address equal opportunities”.

Definitions, as has already been said, stress poverty:

> “Poverty, in its widest sense, was commonly identified as being central to the definition of social exclusion. However it was also recognized that social exclusion was about more than poverty, and was a dynamic phenomenon. The vulnerability of families and individuals at particular stages in their life-cycle was identified, and that additional support at these key stages could help break the cycle of disadvantage and deprivation”.

There is a need to recognize the dimension of rural exclusion in Scotland. Concerns were expressed that the deprivation revealed by indicators gave the discussion an urban bias. It was suggested that social exclusion in rural areas would have to be examined with "new rural indicators."

Other parts of the document stress the need for services/opportunities to be made available to young people and other vulnerable groups. All this suggests that the definitions of exclusion are premised on the absence of opportunity, that inclusion is to be provided through enhanced opportunities, for example "meaningful work" and the redistribution of resources.

Are these new?

No, they are very much in line with very established views of state responsibility and beliefs that the community holds (or claims to hold) about opportunity and fairness provided through services and government. This orientation was damaged and suppressed by London-controlled policies, but is being reasserted and is expressed here both by state officials and citizens.

Silences

These are more evident when comparisons are made with the English texts. There is very little evidence of moral panic in this document, especially by comparison with the alarmist tone of the English texts. There is consequently a silence about individual responsibility for being "excluded." The English document uses the shortcomings of individuals and groups (especially young men and single mothers) to justify its interventions that require evidence of worth in order to attract support. The silences in this respect follow from collective conviction that exclusion is structural.

Governance and social exclusion/inclusion

The ideas about the relationship expressed in both parts of this document (the policy-makers and the response) are remarkably consistent; the document is a public dialogue between the Scottish Office and the public, and together they say that government has to take responsibility for improving social inclusion, that it can do this and that it should be done through redistributive policies and targeted support. The purpose is to secure citizens' entitlements achieved fairly across different sectors of the population. The government is identified as capable and responsible;

resources may be gathered from all sectors, government will coordinate the network and the problems will be addressed. There are hints that the energy provided by the new political situation will enable more productive, consensual policy making than was possible in the past. These are not at all new sentiments, but build on old assumptions and practices, feeding into new contexts.

Silences

There is an absence of alternatives to government-led problem solving. There is no self-critical appraisal of this particular working out of citizenship and its denial of conflict or difference within the "community." The new model of a Scottish polity demands fairly uncritical acceptance and does not enter into very contentious issues that divide the public - for example provision for the children of "Travelers," disadvantage that is linked to minority religious status or to ethnic origin.

Construction of narrative

What story is being presented? What Images?

This is a story that builds on the Scottish myths of fairness and of the possibility of advancement regardless of social origin, along with a strong tradition of egalitarianism that is to be found in all sort of cultural contexts-church, education, the Law, and literary tradition. It fed into the establishment and growth of the welfare state, and contributed to the nature of political life in Scotland after the war, where large scale projects of social engineering were attempted, especially in Housing in Glasgow. Despite the failures of these strategies, there is still strong public support for government intervention and state provision. The discrediting of "big government" achieved by Thatcher in England, along with encouragement of individual gain/greed, and social advancement did not resonate so strongly in Scotland. So the story here is of a revived public service, drawing on the "strengths and talents of the Scottish people" to address the needs of Scottish society in its own way.

This is potentially a powerful narrative, in which the policy issue of social inclusion is being used as a way of building inclusion in the emergent Scottish polity.

Silences

Some of them have been indicated earlier. There is also a silence about current difficulties in adopting national approaches to global problems, particularly where populations are vulnerable to shifting economic forces.

What is the logic/discursive construction of the argument?

The argument is constructed as a dialogue between an enlightened, rational government and its clients/citizens. It is new in style-in the past the tone/construction would have been more authoritative, and the consent of the governed simply assumed. The substance, then, is not new; there is an assumption of consensus, which is accurate, and that consensus is used to build the logic of centrally-directed interventions to solve the problem.

Silences concern the possibility that structural inequality is not amenable to limited redistributive policies, or that there is a public who are reluctant to contribute to inclusion, and are indifferent to the needs of the excluded.

Context

As indicated in the introduction, the context is highly political. That political context has effects on several levels. At one level, the text seeks to exploit a resurgent nationalism without being a "nationalist' text, because it does not want to contribute to support for Independence. At another level, it is asserting the right of this "nation" to frame its own arguments and narratives about this issue, but it cannot be too dismissive or critical of the "English" narratives. Citizen-State-World Relations

How does the text construct its subjects?

They are constructed as people with entitlements and (to a lesser extent) responsibilities as citizens. They are also to a degree portrayed as victims of circumstance, for example "family breakdown" or inadequate service (Health or Housing), and especially poverty. Young people and children (who are given separate status) are characterized thus:

> "These were the most frequently identified priority groups. Investing in these groups was seen as the best way of breaking the "cycle of deprivation" and "habit" of exclusion. The importance of their rights as citizens and their involvement in the decisions affecting their lives and futures was stressed".

There is no extended discussion of teachers and learners, nor indeed of education, as other areas are seen as important and education is seen as one of a number of sites of intervention. (This contrasts with the emphasis on education as a solution through skills acquisition and hence employment that is strong in the English documents). Indeed teaching and learning are rather downplayed in the section on education, where the social aspect is emphasized:

> "The new initiative on Alternatives to Exclusion from School was generally welcomed, though there were suggestions that alternative education options and learning strategies might be required to ease excluded children's reintroduction to mainstream education. Parental involvement in education is seen as key, and both primary and secondary schools were identified as possible centers for family support and community life. The value of community based education and further education colleges was also highlighted, in particular the fact that they serve much broader social goals than education alone".

These are not new, though perhaps there is less emphasis on education as a solution than one might expect, given its historic/mythological role as a promoter of egalitarianism in Scottish society.

The excluded categories in these constructions are the private sector/business communities, who feature strongly in the English texts.

Transition of the state/civil society

There is little evidence of transition in the sense that I think is meant by the guidance notes. There is some evidence of adoption of a style or vocabulary that connects to changing modes of governance, for example in the use of networks and fora to connect to community interests. But the text puts forward a fairly unreconstructed view of the state as a reasserted Keynesian welfare state with a strong streak of authoritative allocation of resources following from expert knowledge and judgment of effectiveness. Responsibilities and disciplinary mechanisms/processes are not relocated in civil society. Thus these relations are not new though they are inflected by the political context. Those excluded are those who do not accept or share in the story on inclusivity and the possibility of state-managed redistribution.

What do these texts imply about subjects and world society/globalization?

The texts imply a turning away from/refusal of the globalization agenda and the reassertion of the place of the small nation-state. The strength of this portrayal depends in part on its opposition to the UK context in which it remains somewhat uneasily embedded. The hidden references that support this identity are in Europe but these are not in any way directly discussed. The absence of consideration of the turbulent economic environment, and the need for flexibility, high skill levels etc. is very striking because of its dominance in steering education policy in the UK/England.

The silences here may involve those who fear that the fostering of separatism within the UK will weaken the overall economic position of the UK and its constituent nations, and will make inward investment in all of its parts less likely.

Text Analysis 2: New Community Schools; the prospectus

This is a document issued in November 1998 by the Senior Chief Inspector for Schools in Scotland, with a foreword from the Secretary of State for Scotland and published by the Scottish Office Education and Industry Department. It sets out a government initiative for the establishment of New Community Schools throughout Scotland. The document explains the purpose of these schools, the framework for their development, sets out how they will be piloted and requests applications from Local Authorities (L.A.s) for their establishment. The New Community Schools are the nearest things to the English EAZs in Scotland, but they are very different, as we shall see. For example they are to be established in schools, and they are to be equally distributed throughout the L.A.s It is therefore important to read this text, like the one on social inclusion, against the English text, as well as for its information about Scotland.

Governance

Ideas and categories

The ideas and categories are of government taking responsibility to sort out the most effective solution to the problem of social exclusion. The document is very straightforward; there is no rhetoric, just a common-sense style and the setting out of forms of organization that are assumed to be agreed to and straightforward to implement. To some extent this document is building on an earlier consultation document that asked service providers for their views about New Community Schools; feedback had been very positive, so this text sets out how an agreed strategy should be implemented. Governance in this text is the efficient and rational bureaucracy that enables things to happen. Government presents itself here as enabling the bringing together of different services in order to promote social inclusion and "secure a step change in the attainment of children facing a destructive cycle of underachievement."

The text sets out quite detailed arrangements for the management of this innovation, and here the role taken by government is to prevent sectional interests from protecting their own spaces and thus getting in the way of the policy. So, for example, government specifies that these new integrated services are to be located in schools, that the directors of the various services (e.g. Health, Social Work) have got to sign the bid for resources in order to indicate their commitment, and that the group managing the New Community Schools should have a stipulated set of service interests on it and be chaired by a headteacher. Throughout the document there is quite specific guidance about how things should be done, couched in authoritative civil service language which gives a strong steer but does not dictate – there are also plenty of references to "authorities meeting local circumstances." However the understanding of governance that is embodied here is a formal one, in which official institutions come together to act on behalf of their clients /citizens.

Are these new?

They are not new in tone and style, but very much part of the image of educational governance presented by Scotland's civil servants internally and externally. There is a difference in the content-where there are proposals for integrated working across services located in the schools. This is a new form of service delivery and one that is not traditional in a country where professional cultures are strongly bounded - so that there is a difference here that suggests some urgency in addressing the issue.

Also new is the level of proposed action in relation to families and parents, and (to a lesser degree) the local community. Engagement with the local community is not entirely new and takes the traditional form of work through the local authorities. However there is a slight change in emphasis here, which probably marks the recognition of the growth of small-scale networks at the very local level in some very disadvantaged communities, who are now being integrated into formal networks and connected up to the formal system:

> "The development of a new Community School will provide an important opportunity and mechanism to build the capacity of the local community. Authorities should consult the local community in the initial preparation of the bid and the subsequent development of the new community school. Proposals must set out the steps taken and planned to involve the local community in the bid and what is proposed by way of continuing community and family involvement, for example through community representation on a local steering committee".

However the desire to intervene in family life is quite new; it is unusual to find such expression in a Scottish text. Past forms have been concerned with the raising of academic achievement as a way of addressing poverty; here there is a close concern with the health, welfare and well-being of pupils and parents:

> "new community schools should include the promotion of self-esteem for all members of the school community, including family members" (p. 12)

Governance as responsibility for welfare through the school as an institution is new, and represents a departure from traditional forms in which the school promoted academic performance as the solution to disadvantage. The form taken- of authoritative professional pronouncement and organization, is not new.

There is absolute silence about the business community, nor is there a story of failure by professionals (or by past government) rehearsed here.

Social exclusion/inclusion

The New Community Schools are seen as solutions to the problem of exclusion and as an "inclusive" approach to service provision that will itself promote inclusion. The ideas about exclusion in the document are reflected in terms like "cycle of disadvantage," "cycle of deprivation, educational underachievement and failure," "the destructive cycle of underachievement." The ideas connect directly to poverty, and the working out of the ideas suggests that this is a problem that can be solved by improving service delivery. There is thus an assumption that all children can achieve, and there is no discussion of anti-social behavior, or criminal activity, or references to an "underclass." The ideas reflect the belief that society is "naturally" inclusive, but that structural barriers to inclusivity have been created, which must be removed, and which can be removed, through effective service delivery.

Are these new?

This is quite traditional (old Labour) thinking. The only trace of new ideas about inclusion/exclusion comes in the insistence on building self-esteem among families as already indicated in the quotations above and in this one:

> "New Community Schools: essential characteristics:
>
> Engagement with families: empowering parents and family members to raise their expectations of their children and themselves. In most cases this will involve the development of a family support service at the school. Outreach to parents must be planned and provided".

Silences

These are created around any possible questioning of the possibility of achieving inclusivity through effective service provision; in other words, the possibility that there may be hostility to particular groups, or problems that do not respond to better organization (for example the very serious drug culture/economy in some of Edinburgh's worst housing estates, and the related high levels of HIV positive young people). There are silences around the relative failure of state provision to redress inequality in the past. There are interesting silences about the need to be employable in order to be included.

Governance and social exclusion/inclusion

This is a straightforward relationship as presented in the text; governance is defined as formal government and its operation is seen as the preserve of experts (professionals and officials). Inclusion is to be achieved through the intelligent organization of services that combine to eradicate the disadvantages from which the excluded suffer, and to make good damage to self-esteem that has been caused by failure of service deliverers in the past. Everyone will be included, if these plans are put into practice. These are not new categories of relationship, but revived versions of old relationships. They are perhaps strengthened by the context of "national inclusivity" that is being promoted in the political/cultural arena.

Silences

These are created for anyone who has doubts about the capacity of government to operate so effectively to promote inclusion, or who sees a society more fractured and fissured by diversity and difference that the model permits. It is a also a top-down model, in which policy is designed and delivered to recipients.

Construction of narrative

The story is the same as that in the first Scottish document; it is a story that relies on images of fairness and inclusivity as the characteristics of Scottish society, which have been interrupted and distorted by English policy/politics, and now may be revived and restored. Action to put right that damage will be taken by rational experts, acting together, to rebuild damaged community.

These are not new, but they have been submerged. During the Thatcher years, there were outbreaks of organized resistance to particular policies that deeply offended Scottish sensibilities-for example the poll-tax, and the publication of league tables of exam performance. The story here builds on these resistances, and seems to say-we have suffered distortions to our "naturally" just and equitable system, but now we can revert to traditional practices, with some new, intelligent institutional thinking, to recover our essential characteristics. It is a very positive account, that assumes agreement about future design and a shared narrative of the past. The story is given physical expression in the cover of the document, which consists of photographs of seven school age children, three of whom are from minority ethnic populations, all of whom are in poses that reflect them as bright/cheeky/funny. They aren't posed as studious learners, or made to look insufferably cute; these are photos that attempt to capture something that is part of the imagined community of Scottishness.

The silences created in this story are those that challenge the old narrative of fairness, and those that want the story of global change, employability and flexibility to have priority. Silences about education and the economy are deafening here.

Logic/discursive construction

The construction of the argument in the text is one that assumes that the truth of what is said is self-evident, and that disagreement is unlikely/unimaginable. It is assumed that "we" are all agreed that there is a problem. Not much is said about the origins of this problem, there is little attempt to construct a narrative that ranges over the past because that would be too difficult politically. Instead it is assumed that we are starting from a new situation, but at the same time it is also assumed that there is consensus about what is to be done. The discourse is one of benevolent authority, constructing rational and effective strategies to address these issues. Both the problems and the solutions are conceptualized in organizational terms, in part because rhetorical/ideological work is not seen to be necessary, in part because the construction of expert systems is what governance is about here.

Silences come from more complex and contested readings of the nature and origin of the problem, and cynicism about the possibilities offered by rational planning.

Context

The context of the discussion is highly political. It is one in which the Scottish Office is claiming the right to speak and make policy on behalf of the wider community. The text constructs a context of inclusiveness in policy-making. In so doing it is seeking to avoid confrontation with a Nationalist Agenda and it is also distancing itself from possible conflict with the UK Labour Government (or perhaps more accurately from being seen to echo Labour policy in England)

Citizen-world-state relations

How does the text construct its subjects?

They are constructed as rational actors, who will accept and deliver the arguments and strategies set out in the document. The principal actors in the text are service providers; these are given guidance and clearly defined responsibilities and operating structures. Parents and pupils are constructed as people in need. Service deliverers are constructed as professional partners, and their cooperation and constructive involvement is assumed. They are also offered training and support (multi-disciplinary staff development and training). The dominant motif is one of partnership, and this is not new; the constructions are old, but revived by new contexts.

Excluded subjects are business and industry, the underclass, and failed professionals.

Transition of state and civil society

Again, there is not much evidence here of transition. Civil society is invoked rhetorically; it is a presence in the framework in which a strong state deploys its professional experts in order to redress inequalities. Civil society is thus constructed as the repository of civic values that are then translated into practice by an informed, disinterested bureaucracy. But civil society is not "active," nor is it really the object of intervention in order to effect transition.

What do these texts imply about state/civil society relationships and world/society globalization?

For the first, that civil society delegates authority to the state to pursue accepted and agreed policies. Civil society thus accepts direction and assumes commonality of interest between state and citizen. There is some indication that commonalty of interest is growing in the new political context–i.e., through greater political autonomy within the UK.

There is no recognition of the world beyond Scotland, and no reference to global forces.

Text Analysis 3: The General Teaching Council for Scotland

This document is a pamphlet issued by the General Teaching Council for Scotland (GTC) which explains the role and purpose of the Council. I have selected it as a policy text that does not deal directly with social exclusion/inclusion, but deals with teachers and their governance. These are very important issues in the Scottish context, and the governance of Scottish teachers is one of the features of the landscape of education there that is distinctive. Teachers in Scotland, unlike England, are viewed as a resource for tackling the problem of inclusion/exclusion, rather than as contributing to exclusion. So the treatment of teachers here is important for the project as a way of understanding English-Scottish differences. In addition, the existence of the GTC indicates a level of influence by the teaching profession in the government of education that is very unusual, and it is interesting to see how this particular formal mechanism of education government operates.

The text is a pamphlet that summarizes the Council's functions, sets out its history, its membership and its areas of responsibility, and discusses future activities (very briefly). It is intended to provide information for those unfamiliar with the Scottish system, and is therefore written in very straightforward term, with no rhetorical flourishes. Like the preceding documents from the Scottish context, it has a strong air of certainty about it, a certain "matter-of-factness" that carries the message that "this is how we do things."

Governance; Social Exclusion/Inclusion

Governance

The categories regarding governance are the formal categories, structures and processes of government. The document is concerned to explain the existence and procedures of a formal body (the GTC) which was established by government in 1965 to provide "a substantial measure of self-government" to Scottish teachers. The document clarifies the purposes of the GTC , its membership, and its areas of responsibility. The discussion makes clear that the body views itself as representative and regulatory. It is representative in that its 49 members are divided into elected members, appointed members and nominated members. The vast majority are elected members (30) who come from the different school sectors, and are elected by teachers in those sectors. Fifteen of the non-elected members are appointed by the universities, the Local Authorities and the Churches, while the remaining 4 members are nominated by the Secretary of State for Scotland. The dominance of professional interests is of great importance to the Council; in response to the question "Is the Council a Government Body" the text reads:

> "No. The Council is completely independent of the Scottish Office Education Department. It has, of course, links with the department and works closely with Departmental officials on matters of mutual concern".

The Council is regulatory because it requires that all teachers in Scotland must be registered with the Council, which maintains a register of all those able to teach in public sector schools in Scotland. The Council ensures that all courses of initial teacher education meet its requirements, as it accredits all training courses, and it is also responsible for assessing whether probationary teachers (i.e., newly qualified teachers who have completed two years of probationary service) are admitted to the profession and registered.

Thus the version of governance embodied in this document is a strong, formal one, that emphasizes regulation and representation. The Council's representativeness and independence enable it to successfully claim regulatory authority over entry and training in the teaching profession.

Are these new?

These are not new categories; as we saw above, the Council was created in 1965. There have been developments since then, as the foundation of the Council is explained as follows:

> "The Council was created because there had been a great deal of professional and public dissatisfaction with standards in Scottish schools in the 1950s and early 1960s. This arose largely from the employment of unqualified persons as 'uncertificated teachers".

Concern about standards has not been a public, or even a professional issue, in schools in Scotland, despite attempts by the Conservative government to develop a public discourse of school failure. As the GTC was able to regulate professional entry, it was accepted that teachers were a legitimate arm of policy, a resource rather than a problem, and the Council became part of the education policy-making arena, operating largely in partnership with the Scottish Office and the Local Authorities. The GTC became part of the "local" partnership against Conservative political interventions, and is thus part of "native" governance, rather than UK government/policy-making. The new political situation will require new relationships of governance. These are not yet developed.

What silences are created?

This document is silent about community. As this is such a strong presence in so much policy-making at the moment the silence is, perhaps, significant. The document lies squarely in the Scottish tradition of strong, central leadership, where consensus is assumed or achieved by small groups of professionals. There is no reference to a broader constituency; the government of the profession is a matter for the profession.

A related silence concerns the blaming, naming and shaming of professionals. There is nothing on this. This contrasts strongly with the English context, where teachers appear frequently as the "problem" to be modernized. The proposals for an English GTC encapsulate this approach; they are all to do with disciplining the profession. And there is, of course, a silence around the possibility of dissent from this rational, consensual model.

Social Inclusion/Exclusion

There is nothing that relates to these issues in the document. The assumption is, that if teachers are appropriately governed, then they will perform effectively. There is a further taken for granted assumption that "proper" governance of the profession means a fair amount of autonomy for it; thus the GTC has powers over training, considerable influence over teacher supply, and "oversees" standards of entry to the profession. Within the context of Scottish provision, and its operating principles that require application of rules and procedures to everyone, in a fair and equal way, it is assumed that everyone benefits. The GTC has not yet responded to the Social Inclusion Partnership initiative, and it will be interesting to see how they respond and whether they support the multi-disciplinary professional approach in schools, in areas that have been the exclusive territory of teachers.

Silences

As above.

Governance and social exclusion/inclusion

From the silences in the text there is, we think, an assumption that good governance of the profession leads to good professional practice and thence to fair and inclusive provision in which professional judgments have priority. There is also a strong assumption that rules and codes and committees all operate in a disinterested was and that consensus can be achieved among professionals.

These are not at all new. There are silences about problems, difficulties, unfairness, exclusion, and the less than perfect operation of this rational-legal approach.

Construction of Narrative

What story is being presented?

This is a teaching document, as fits the content and purpose. It consists of 23 questions that someone might ask about the GTC. It is not clear who that someone might be. They are not constructed in any way-as a citizen, or intending teacher, or parent-they are a completely abstracted entity. There, is I think, some assumption of insider status, because there is no attempt to provide background on the system of education or on the departments of government. So the story is told by the Council (which appears as responsible, serious, accountable and concerned about education) to someone who is assumed to share the same concerns, dispositions, vocabulary.

The narrative is one of order-all the questions have definitive answers, the answers add up to a picture of progress in the monitoring of the work of education, and continuous improvement in professional standards. The GTC is displayed as protector and defender of the profession; for example it points out that staff in higher education institutions who are concerned with the professional education of teachers "must be registered," and that the Council is pressing for the mandatory registration of all staff in further education institutions. The language throughout is formal and procedural: Council "reviews," is "empowered to offer comment," "makes recommendations," "discharges its functions." There is a stress on responsibility

> " (...) the cardinal principles (...) are the welfare of pupils and the good name of the profession"

Are these new?

No. And the silences created are like those already indicated.

The form and language of the story told here inhibit alternative narratives. This is a very orthodox view of the profession and its place within the framework of education policy making. It is interesting to note that some commentators believe that the influence of the GTC stems from its strong representation of the major Scottish Teachers Union (the EIS) and that this gives it "clout," rather than the rational and consensual form of operation exemplified in the document. Alternatively, the creation and operation of the GTC may have eliminated the threat to rational, consensual policy-making posed by an organized and quite militant profession. So there is a silence about conflict, alternative forms of advocacy and organization, and something of a silence about failure or self-criticism.

What is the logic?

It's a Socratic dialogue. Through intelligent questioning, the teacher unfolds a system of belief with which all reasonable people must agree. The form of the questions and their cumulative effect makes it impossible to get behind the narrative into issues about politics or the possible "stage management" of education politics through networks of actors that are far from inclusive.

These are not new. The government of education (indeed of Scotland) by public servants is not new. This construction gives the appearance of representation of the profession, but the reality may be co-option. The silences concern the non-professionals, parents and pupils, the wider community.

Context

The context is a rather closed network of policy-makers. It is also quite a stable context, in which education as a service is not threatened or called to account. The exclusions are as above. It is also interesting that there is no reference to the wider context, in particular the UK context.

Who is excluded?

Those identified above, and those who might want to tell a different story about a complacent profession/system.

Citizen-State-World relations

Teachers and Learners

The document is entirely preoccupied with teachers. Learners do not really feature. Teachers are the subject of the document, and of the Council's efforts. It is assumed that the work of the Council will improve standards of professional practice;

> "... (the Council's) overarching role is the maintenance and wherever possible the enhancement of professional standards. All its activities are directed towards improving the quality of teaching in Scotland".

Teachers are constructed as recipients of advice, support and training. They appear acquiescent in their role, as logically they must, being in control of the body that is doing all this. They are quite strongly disciplined by the Council, which protects professional standards by:

- maintaining a register of qualified teachers,
- advising on the supply of teachers
- overseeing standards of entry to the profession
- accrediting and reviewing the operation of all courses of initial teacher education,
- exercising its disciplinary powers in relation to registration.

That last point is a discreet way of talking about the major disciplinary power the Council has over teachers; that is to find them guilty of "gross professional misconduct" In such a case a teacher will be removed from the register and so can no longer teach in a public sector school in Scotland.

These are not new constructions.

What is excluded by them? Anything that falls outside this model of professionalism and of education governance. One of the criticisms made of the Scottish education system is that it produces conformists and is very intolerant of people who are not rule-followers; thus Scottish teachers who have been responsible for innovatory pedagogy (for example A. S. Neill, or R. F. MacKenzie) have had to leave the public sector, or Scotland, altogether.

Transitions

The texts imply that nothing has changed since the "problem" of low standards was tackled in the 1960s. This is a discourse that connects professional practitioners and administrators without reference to politics, or to the broader context. There is a constant reference to Scotland, and only a passing mention of the rest of the UK. That reference is rather disparaging about the attempt of these systems to achieve a GTC.

The absence of concern about the constituency beyond professional networks is surprising and reflects the extent to which assumptions and practices that have characterized the governance of education in Scotland since the turn of the century and before have remained intact. Civil society is not represented here; it is not even invoked rhetorically.

Relationship between subjects and world/society

The relationship is one of complacency, where it exists at all. The benighted country south of the border, without a GTC, is to be pitied, and commended for its "strenuous efforts" to achieve one.

> "Teachers from other countries are often envious of the statutory powers of the General Teaching Council for Scotland"

(There is a popular Scottish drinking toast "Here's tae us, wha's like us" that we are reminded of here).

In looking to the future, there is not a murmur of concern about standards, or employment prospects, or the changing demands on teachers that have been the principal concerns across the world in talking about teacher professionalism. Instead there is a resolution to carry the fight to require registration in Further Education forward, and to ensure better oversight of in-service training.

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10. Concluding remarks

Thomas S Popkewitz and Sverker Lindblad:

Comments and reflections on cases and contexts

We have now been informed about recent discourses on education restructuring in different texts, presented in different national contexts. Though the cases in many ways present distinct differences – as e.g., between England and Scotland – they also show some similar patterns. In this final section, we will offer a number of tentative conclusions in terms of comments and reflections. We begin with comments on the individual cases and the more international patterns. Then, we will discuss the "answers" to our theoretical question. Finally, we present new questions that have been put on the agenda by this study.

Methodological and conceptual reflections

In the initial phrase of this research project, we assumed that it was important to ask epistemological and conceptual questions about the relation of governance to social integration and social exclusion. At the same time, we recognized that the epistemological categories would be modified as we confronted the data empirically and historically in the contexts of the individual nations. This first phase of data collection related to the text analysis was also the first test of our methodological assumption. Our approach to the selection of texts has varied; the sources of data have ranged from party policy statements and union educational documents to formal documents on educational change issued by governments. The policy text analyses have also involved looking at documents related to school intervention, such as system-wide statements about national reform or documents produced as both guidelines and exhortations about school change to be used in renovating or revising educational delivery systems. The methodological challenge in this and further analyses of system actors is to bring the diverse documents into a coherent theoretical interrogation in which the different layers of the system are seen as interrelated and mutually interactive in producing assumptions about governance and inclusion/exclusion.

This initial report of text analyses is our first attempt to bring the conceptual distinctions into a relation with the data. The challenges that are evident in these national cases of text analysis are (a) to develop a systematic way of thinking about the major concepts of the study across nations, such as a cross-national set of distinctions in which to explore the saga, progress, images, and the relation of governance and inclusion/exclusion among nations. The subsequent system actor analysis (based on interviews with education politicians and top administrators) then needs to extend further and bring to bear the nuances of the categories of analysis developed in this document. But there is also the need to give attention to the cross-national qualities of the cases. That is, our next step will be further investigation of the conceptual distinctions of the study in a comparative format. We recognize that in this movement between the historically specific and the theoretical interests of the study, there is an interplay that may change the specific way in which the concepts of the study are articulated as they are brought into relation with the data sets themselves.

National cases and international patterns

This issue of context involves both historical and socio-political issues. In most of the studies, there was a local and global context in which the reports were written. One simple example of the relation of local and global not presented in this work package but part of our larger project is the circulation of international educational statistics. They are points of reference used by system actors in discussions of priorities and standards of measuring progress. The Greek report also directs attention to how international agencies influence reforms through EU and OECD funding, but these are not mentioned in state texts about reform. The global context means economics and the new European Union, as well as various international organizations.

The local context is the need for the nation to respond to these changes globally while at the same time, the local national state is important in developing a new sense of identity in which the image of the nation is related to a new internationalism of the economy. Thus the "nationality" of the citizen has a bifocal quality in these reports: one is international in relation to changes in work and to a collective interconnected world that is broader than the nation-state while another has a sense of belonging within the cultural "home" of the national state.

In this sense, we can read the texts as part of a new nationalism that responds to the changing position of the nation within international (European as well as broader) contexts and to changes in identity through immigration and changing migration patterns within the nation. Finally, there is an effort in each of the text analyses to provide some historical background to facilitate an understanding of the analyzed governmental and political texts.

In the cases presented here, we do not only learn about policy discourses in different national contexts with different social and historical backgrounds. We learn about the impact of international organizations and agencies dealing with matters of education. There is a need to focus on these organizations and their work in the future.

Governance in change

Notions of governance were in focus of the analyzed texts. The general trend involved changes in the welfare state as it relates to providing security and containing risk. Thus, we can read the changes in governance in the text analyses as a reformulation of the relation of the state to the citizen rather than, as some commentators have argued, "a crisis of the welfare state." Two discursive images appear in the report: that of the state, economy, and citizen in a *partnership*, and that of the *pact* between the state and its citizens in providing for the collective good. At one level, the two distinctions of *partnership* and *pact* can be read as a continuing obligation of state governance to provide social welfare. But the distinctions also emphasize different systems of governing within a broad concept of the welfare state. Examples of each are the more individualized, liberal political cultures in Britain, stressing the word "partnership," and the former, more centralized state systems of Portugal, emphasizing "the pact" as a normative concept of policy.

The English case illustrates how a discussion of partnership and demands for standards are thought of as involving a set of relations between the state, business, professionals, civic associations, parents, and communities. But this partnership is to be steered through standards of curriculum and outcome performance objects, just as with the governing policies of those who use the word "pact." There are tendencies in the practices of partnership toward a new centralism in the discourse as compared to e.g. the Nordic cases, where decentralization in various forms is on the agenda.

The notion of partnership is in a way present in the Portuguese Pact, as well as a practice of describing the reforms in order to construct consensus and to avoid politicization of educational matters.

In different ways, we find constellations of subjects or citizens and the state when dealing with governance. In the Icelandic and Swedish cases, the texts deal with user control of education in contrast to centralized governance. In texts from Greece, Portugal, and Spain, relations between private and public education is of importance but from different perspectives, depending on the form and extent of private education.

Techniques of governance are present in the Nordic cases in terms of contracts, evaluation, resource allocation, and so forth, while the German and Southern cases deal with governance changes as principal or normative matters.

The changes in governance have produced new forms of expertise as evident in the centralized/decentralized patterns of most of the reports. For example, there appears to be a redefining of the role of educational administration in fostering pedagogical, organizational, and economic autonomy within local, municipally controlled, systems of education. Educational administration appears also to have taken a new stand on teacher teamwork and the implementation of new "pacts" or "partnerships." Also, there seems to be increased reliance on specialized expertise that further rationalizes and governs the process of schools and children's inner characteristics, as exemplified by the increased use of psychologists and special educational teachers in Iceland.

The reports have used different phrases to discuss the new governing patterns and expertise: "autonomy under tutelage," the movement from "the educating state to the regulating state," and "informative steering," in which influence is produced through the distribution of knowledge and the evaluation of results. These different phrases, we believe, capture significant changes in how school systems are being governed. They point to the ways in which centralization and decentralization/deregulation are more complex than is commonly assumed in policy studies, which proved to have implications for the patterns of inclusion/exclusion explored in this study.

The reports also direct attention to governance at two levels. One of these levels is the principles of organization and control of processes. Central management, which was associated with the strong welfare state, has come to an end and has evolved into managerialism and a belief in the myth of the market, in which education is to serve individuals. The other governance level is that of *habitus*, that is, the increased concern with the inner qualities and dispositions of the individual through, for example, work in human relations and school-community-parent education, with an emphasis on how people use information and communication technologies. We will return to this below under the topic of the construction of the subject.

Narratives

The current study contains different narratives on educational transitions related to restructuring and governance in different national cases. In several cases, we find two parallel sets of stories, one on democratization and one on modernization. This is neatly illustrated in the Portuguese text, where tensions between these tendencies linked to problems of legitimacy and efficiency. Similar patterns of educational reform are found in the Nordic welfare states, but in a different time perspective. The Swedish case presents a story where centralized education reforms were regarded as necessary for the development of the economy and culture, but not sufficient in a rapidly changing and competitive context.

There is a particular style of constructing narratives of educational transitions that tell stories of progress through the grammar and rhetorical styles of science. This use of science to tell of progress is not a new phenomenon, since most nation-states in Europe sought to engage in modernization through the use of scientific expertise after World War II. The mobilization of science to rationalize educational systems was a strategy of the state as it sought to provide educational systems that were both more efficient in training and more equitable in relation to governmental democratic concerns. Education is part of the stories of social progress and improved quality of life for citizens. In these stories, we can situate science in different ways. The Finnish case illustrates a general trust in science for social progress over different time periods. Dealing with tests and new ways to govern science, especially, is part and parcel of educational restructuring in our times. In the Icelandic case, techniques in terms of contract management and self-evaluation can be regarded as part of a science-based narrative. In Germany, scientific-technological tendencies in terms of objective formulation and self-evaluation are part of the recent patterns of change. In Portugal and Greece, progress is viewed in relation to the twin processes of modernization and democratization. But progress is organized through external reference to Europe and, in the case of Portugal, there is a "slowness" to modernize.

At the same time, the narratives embodied new *topoi*, or slogans that are accepted as universal truths that need no explanation or questioning but which are to coalesce and mobilize public opinion in the process of reform. In the Portuguese and Spanish cases, for example, different phrases are present as objects of community consensus, such as everyone "knows" what is meant by "quality of education," "the knowledge society," "lifelong learning," and "education and training." In Finland, one such topoi relates to "lifelong learning" or "the pupil's right to a safe learning environment." Such phrases make possible a belief in a generalized agreement about the directions of reform and social progress, without any need for definition.

Finally, narratives presented in texts are often constructed with a theme of necessity in them - there was no choice or alternative to the restructuring of education. It can be argued that this theme is a theme of tragedy - development or international economic competition demands changes in education - and there is no other way than the one taken. But in these narratives we find new heroes - e.g., the school leaders - who will make the future possible. Or is it the old story of Sisyphus once again?

Construction of subjects

In the texts, we find new constructions of subjects - new students as well as new teachers and citizens. This is highly visible in the Finnish case, where the authors write about a tidebreak in this respect concerning students. In the Portuguese case, we find a redefinition of the humanist project, while in Iceland, there are constructions of the child as a competitive, rational, and independent consumer. Similar constructions of children or students are present in most cases.

Turning to teachers, we find new constructions as well (though not entirely new if you are acquainted with the last decades of research on teachers and teachers' work). We find, as in the Portuguese and Swedish cases, that as reflective professionals, teachers are agents of change. The new teacher in the reports can be understood as a "counselor," a "reflective facilitator," who is directed by goals established in advanced and by the fact that procedures for assessment, evaluation, and measurement of results are used to control outcomes rather than processes. A darker side is presented in the Greece and English cases, where teachers are considered as accountable for the performances of the educational systems.

Underlying the reports is a new individualization of the teacher and the child. The Finnish case, for example, discusses this as the movement from the citizen to the individual. Whereas previous reforms placed the individual in relation to concerns about the citizen as contributing to a collective social development, today's reforms do not point to citizens improving society but rather to ethical education, the role of the pupil as an active learner, and the development of talent. The student becomes an active, rational subject who uses services offered by the school. This new individualism relates to active cooperation in an international world where human rights are not related to a generalized solidarity with the rest of the world but are embodied in the qualities of the individual whose is in a constant state of flux. The Portuguese case emphasizes a new individualism as well, focusing on civic responsibility as tightly linked to individual interests and "learning rhythms."

The text reports also place a new emphasis on families and the child as agents of change. Family life in England, for example, receives focus as having new responsibilities, with home-school "contracts" being drawn up that relate to homework assignments and children's behavior and performance in school.

We can think of the new constructions as one of networks. As everything is changing so quickly, social competence and self-governing requires a system that is handled through associations that are varied and flexible rather than uniform. Swedish, English, and Scottish reforms involve, for example, partnerships, such as the Scottish networks involving enterprises, the home, and private, voluntary, and community sectors.

To us, these changes indicate not only changes in education governance but also constructions of new education projects. We can speak of the changes through talking about a shift of focus from education of responsible citizens to motivated consumers. The teacher, the child, and the school administrator are constructed as not only with the right knowledge but with both the personal traits and dispositions and the social and cognitive competencies that are regarded as necessary for the future.

Social inclusion/exclusion

Education deals with social integration in many ways and thus the education systems have to deal with issues of social inclusion/exclusion in many ways. We can read the current reform texts as often focusing on inclusion and exclusion through universalizing categories into categories of cause and victims of circumstances, such as the English texts that focus on unemployment, poor skills, low income, high crime environment or family breakdown.

We can also view these terms as functioning as topoi discussed earlier, such as new governance schemes: "risk zones," special needs, ethnic changes, increased differentiation of wealth and advantage. These words are deployed in texts to emphasize the inclusiveness and fairness of policy and governance strategies by targeting categories that point to deviations from the norm. But what becomes clear when looking at these categories of policy and governance strategies is that the topoi are assumed to point to real people without questioning the meaning or the norms that are inscribed about differentness. For example, there are laws concerned with educating for diversity but when we look deeper into the texts, the differences are individualized through norms that are used to describe the individual, competitive, active "lifelong learner." Poverty, as in the English case, becomes redefined through looking at individual performance. The norms are not universal; there are particular patterns of behaving and acting that are not the same for all children in the school. What is not interrogated in the policy texts is how such distinctions of policy construct differentness along a continuum of norms that define a standard of sameness.

In Table 10:1 below we have condensed patterns of inclusion-exclusion in our cases. The table summarizes provisory notions on social inclusion/exclusion in national cases.

Here we find different ways of defining inclusion/exclusion relative to education located in psychological, sociological, and cultural discourses, and also different discourses of expertise.

As could be expected from the earlier research review (Popkewitz, Lindblad & Strandberg, 1999), there are many silences when relating social inclusion/exclusion to transitions in education governance. In policy texts, we learn little about those who do not fit the predominating constructions of active students and professional teachers. Discourses of educational change of governance are in this sense utopian or asocial.

Table 10:1: Patterns of inclusion/exclusion by national cases.

Cases	*Pattern of discourses*
Finland	Equality of opportunity between men and women Mention of the handicapped and immigrants in social management of schools
Germany	Securing equality of opportunity: economic/social compensation Access to higher education Reference to language, origin, belief, religious or political views in legal terms of constitution Promoting talent Disabilities Migrants and foreigners: related to German as a language
Greece	Social class Rural areas Silence regarding cultural diversities
Iceland	Rural/urban, gender, class Disabled and dyslectic, drop-outs, gifted and talented Documents as consensus building
Portugal	Dropouts Cultural (calling for intercultural education) Class (low income) Disabled (special education) Inclusion in global context Increase the population's qualifications Increase attendance, reduce number of dropouts
Spain	Move from the development of society to fighting discrimination due to race, class, sex, religion or social origin Special needs governed by principles of normalization and integration in regular schools Youth, family (traveler families)
Sweden	Universal discourse: equality of education (same for all children) Gender, special needs, failures in studies, gender Late 90s – social, ethnic, immigrant, gender and special needs more central, also unemployment
England	Disrupted, disaffected students Special education students Youth and single mothers Anti-social youth – criminal and anti-social behavior (need for a pluralistic society but with standards of moral and civil behavior)
Scotland	Poverty: Exclusion a result of environment (e.g., housing, unemployment) Rural (opposite unstated opposition)

Some conceptual issues to be dealt with

While we have different national contexts in which to discuss governance and inclusion, we need to think about how to compare and relate the different historical constructions of the national cases to the study of governance and inclusion/exclusion. Some of the distinctions found in the studies that need to be considered comparatively in our next steps are the following:

Categories that order the problem of inclusion/exclusion

When we look across the different national cases, the policy texts deploy different categories to discuss issues of governance related to social inclusion and exclusion. There are in the studies, for example, categories related to social classifications that are produced outside of schools but influence how the practices of schooling are organized, including categories related to poverty/class, environmental conditions, family relations (e.g., single mothers), immigration and migration (e.g., the children of travelers), social groups of outsiders (e.g., minorities, ethnic groups, drug cultures), and geographical groupings (e.g., rural).

There are also internal categories of schooling that are tied to pedagogical practices, such as disruptive, disaffected children, or the handicapped and the dyslectic. These internal, pedagogical categories can be deceptive in the sense that they may seem to pertain only to the instrumental organization of the pedagogy of teaching children. However, they are used to organize and divide children for instruction.

Further, these categories embody qualities that relate to external, cultural norms about family, environment, and social class, but this relation is complex and far from straightforward. For example, many children classified as disruptive are also those categorized as belonging to families of the poor or the working class. This bringing into the school of external categories of differentiating children is at times explicit, such as references to cultural/social characteristics as school categories (in one study, the "uncivilized" - criminal and anti-social behavior).

Silences

We proposed that this category be included in the analysis in order to consider aspects that are so taken for granted in a national discourse that no one needs to speak of it but which nonetheless provide the unspoken norms through which individuals and groups are differentiated. Here we have, for example, the historic ways in which particular population distinctions of nationality and the citizen are constructed to exclude other social and personal distinctions, or the value/moral distinctions to which individual character is normalized. Our discussion of silences in the text analyses focused on silences among the system actors, such as the lack of references to older networks of professional actors, to the role of the government as provider, to ethnic groups, etc. What other categories and distinctions in the field of social inclusion and exclusion also need to be categorized as silences?

Governance

Most of the case studies focus on governance as a property of the formal state legal-administrative function. The cases examined the organization and procedures of the social administration of institutions and the representation of groups that are categorically defined as excluded (again, class was the major category). Governance was also related to the deployment of particular academic discourses as creating particular ways of thinking about and organizing school practices, such as theories of human capital and marketization. There was also some discussion of governance in relation to the sciences of education, such as the use of a scientific psychology and pedagogy. Further, governance was introduced through the reasoning systems embodied in statistics and the fabrication of identities found in both national and international agency organization of data about national systems. A question for our further analysis and comparative discussion is how to combine the different layers of governance as related to inclusion and exclusion.

Dualisms and governing

With policy statements and system actors talking about markets and new partnerships, we may wonder how the case studies could interpret and analyze the relations being formed as governing practices without imposing a dualism that privileges the state as an entity in relation to some separate category of civil society (decentralization vs. centralization)? In what ways are the ideas of pact and partnership related to different national notions of collectivities and to what extent do these different words refer to similar governing practices in the different countries? Or, how do these different ideas express different linguistic distinctions but similar (or different) patterns of governance in their actual practices?

Sagas, notions of progress, and narratives

The various case studies explore the sagas, notions of progress, and narratives of schools in their policy analyses. These notions and narratives can be considered as inscribing national salvation stories (to borrow from John Meyer) that interrelate with the new relations of the school, the state, and the global arena (e.g., the European Union, among other possible agents dealing with the global arena)? In part, these new sagas are told in some contexts through the stories of the welfare state and the social pact; in other national texts through the sagas of partnerships. One comparative issue that emerges from the telling of the sagas is how the sagas are being reconstructed through the rhetoric that makes one's home seem secure and stable (referring to the historical values of the homeland in current reforms, for example) while at the same time reconstituting those sagas in the new sets of relations that the nation and the school find themselves in.

Economy and culture

One way of reading of the case studies of the texts is to conclude that there is a certain rhetoric about economics and markets, the international discourse of neoliberalism. This reading would give primacy to the economic changes as driving forces behind the cultural institutions of a nation, such as the school. But the cases also point to the discourses about market as having different sets of meanings and points of references vis-à-vis the sagas and narratives of the different nations. Also, cultural-economic analyses of changes occurring in the welfare states have suggested that the new world relations have rendered culture as the prime site in which the new state governs most effectively, particularly with a global corporate economy. Whether our cases studies will support the notion of new sets of relations in economy and culture has yet to be seen. But the case studies do point continually to markets and economic metaphors that stand as a logic for governing the practices of schooling. This economic logic, however, does not occur as a singular discourse, as it is overlain with cultural categories about, for example, civilizing particular segments of a national population and the seeming breakdown of moral codes. The appearance of a concern for zero tolerance, for example, can be read as a response to economic concerns, but the category not only embodies cultural standards through the deployed categories, but also a social collectivity in the universalizing languages of achievement and talk of all children being served by the school. Criminality, of course, is also dealt with, reflecting a moral panic about the affect of the disaffected on the standards of civility.

New questions to an end

Based on the national narratives in the text analyses, we have found new questions to discuss as further data on system actors is collected and analyzed. These are:

While neo-liberal thought appears as an important policy-maker in current changes, how do market-economic metaphors stand as its own category or as language that gives credibility and authority in responding to cultural doubts about national identity and governing (for example, dealing with criminality and the moral panic about the disaffecteds' influence on "standards" of civility)? Also, how can the language of governing mix a language of market, efficiency, and standards with economics and culture (the need for reasserting collective social goals and building social confidence in schools and society)? Where or how does promotion of individual responsibility and condemnation of state action signify new patterns of state governing rather than a dismissal of the state?

This report has given us a picture of new rules of education, based on analyses of policy documents and other texts. We have noted patterns of internationalization, globalization, and regionalization as well. We have found tensions between modernization and democratization with implications in terms of legitimization problems in the field of education. Such patterns are combined with changing education projects and new demands on teachers and students, where darker sides in terms of social and cultural differences and social exclusion are mostly absent or unrepresented in the texts. From this point of view, social exclusion is a basic but undisclosed theme in late modern education.

Appendix: Preliminary list of present project deliverables from EGSIE

Work package I: Describing educational systems and reforms in different national contexts. Lindblad, S & Popkewitz, T (Eds) 1999: Education governance and social integration and exclusion: National cases of educational systems and recent reforms. *Uppsala reports on education no 34.*

In this report we have the following contributions:

Australia: Ladwig, James G. & Griffiths, Thomas & Gore, Jennifer & Lingard, Bob: Education in post-penal, post-industrial, post-modern, soon-to-be post-colonial nation.

Finland: Simola, Hannu & Rinne, Risto & Kivirauma, Joel: *National Changes in Education and Education Governance*

Germany: Keiner, Edwin: The German case

Greece: Kazamias, Andreas M. & Roussakis, Yannis: Crisis and Reform in Greek Education: The Modern Greek Sisyphus

Iceland: Jóhannesson, Ingólfur Ásgeir & Mýrdal, Sigurjón: *Our current state of mind*

Portugal: Nóvoa, António & Alves, Natália & Canário Rui: *The Portuguese case*

Spain: Pereyra, Miguel A. & Sevilla, Diego & Pablo, Castillo J.: *The Spanish Educational System: A Report*

Sweden: Lindblad, Sverker & Lundahl, Lisbeth: Education for a re- or deconstruction of "the strong society"

United Kingdom: Lawn, Martin & Ozga, Jenny: The cases of England and Scotland within the UK

Work package II: Literature review on education governance and social integration and exclusion

Popkewitz, T, Lindblad, S & Strandberg, J (1999): Review of Research on Education Governance and Social Integration and Exclusion._*Uppsala reports on education no 35.*

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Popkewitz, T, Lindblad, S 1999: Educational Governance and Social Inclusion and Exclusion: A Conceptual Review of Equity and post-modern Traditions. Accepted for publication *in Discourse.*

As a result of the work with the review report we decided to submit a revised version to a scientific journal. This was not part of our plan as such, but we consider such publications as an important and necessary task for a research project.

Work package III: Analyses of public discourses in different setting.

Lindblad, Sverker and Thomas S Popkewitz: Public discourses on education governance and social integration and exclusion. A report on analyses of policy texts in European contexts. *Uppsala Reports on Education* 36.

In this report we have the following contributions:

Sverker Lindblad & Thomas S Popkewitz: Introduction.

Finland: Risto Rinne, Joel Kivirauma, Piia Hirvenoja & Hannu Simola: From Comprehensive School Citizen towards Self- Selective Individual

Germany: Edwin Keiner, Sandra Muskat, Rita Stolbinger, Kathrin Tietze: Discourses on 'Education Governance and/or Social Exclusion and Inclusion' in Political Parties and Public Press in Germany.

Greece: Andreas Kazamias & Evie Zambeta. Crisis and Reform in Greek Education-A Modern Greek Sisyphus: Analysis of Texts

Iceland: Ingólfur Ásgeir Jóhannesson, Gunnar E. Finnbogason, and Guðrún Geirsdóttir: Curriculum, management and self-evaluation in Icelandic primary and secondary schools

Portugal: António Nóvoa, Natália Alves e Rui Canário: Discourses on educational policy in an uncertainty context

Spain: Miguel A. Pereyra and Pablo J. Castillo The official discourse of social integration in education in Spain. A text analysis report.

Sweden: Lisbeth Lundahl: A New Kind of Order: Swedish Policy Texts Related to Governance, Social Inclusion and Exclusion in the 1990s

England and Scotland: Jenny Ozga and Martin Lawn: *UK Text Analyses and Text Analysis Scotland:*

Sverker Lindblad & Thomas S Popkewitz: *Comments and Discussion.*

Preparing Work package VI: Studies in education governance and social integration and exclusion of youth

Sigurjón Mýrdal, Ingólfur Ásgeir Jóhannesson, University of Akureyri, in collaboration with Guðrún Geirsdóttir, and Gunnar Finnbogason,: *Governance and Inclusion in Icelandic Primary and Secondary Education:*

Emerging Issues and Stories. Presentation at the Annual Convention of the American Educational Research Association, Montreal, April 19–23, 1999

Kazamias, Andreas M., Sverker Lindblad, & Thomas S. Popkewitz (1999): The Comparative-International Orientation/Perspective or Approach of the EGSIE Project: Epistemological and Methodological Reflections. Paper presented at the 1999 AERA meeting in Montreal, Canada. April 19-23.

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10. Berg, Gunnar & Wallin, Erik: The school in an organizational perspective. April 1981.

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12. Elgqvist-Saltzman, Inga & Opper, Susan: Equality and internationalism: Two concepts at the forefront of educational transformation in Sweden? December 1981.

13. Wallin, Erik: To change a school. Experiences from local development work. March 1982.

14. Palmér, Rikard: A longitudinal study of the social adjustment of mentally retarded adults in Sweden. May 1982.

15. Wallin, Erik; Söderström, Magnus & Berg, Gunnar: The relationship between educational research and organization theory. A report from the education and organization research team, Uppsala. October 1982.

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22. Bron Jr. Michał: Adult education and (dis)integration processes in Yugoslavia. December 1985.

23. Wallin, Erik; Söderström, Magnus & Berg, Gunnar (Eds.): Educational research and organizational theory II. Nine papers presented at the international symposium on the relationship between educational research and organization theory in Uppsala, August 1983. A report from the education and organization team, Uppsala, Sweden. January 1986.

24. Ryhammar, Lars & Berglund, Gösta: Preconditions for traffic safety education in the Swedish nine-year compulsory school. The second part of a research project. April 1987.

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27. Almqvist, Birgitta: Children and toys. A bibliography. September 1989.

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29. Negash, Tekeste: The crisis of Ethiopian education: Some implications for nation-building. April 1990.

30. Berg, Gunnar: Curriculum and state schools as organizations. A Scandinavian view. An integration of research into the school as an organization and institution conducted at the Department of Education, Uppsala University. January 1993.

31. Hinke, A.A.M. & Peters, C.M.T.: How the Swedes learn to swim. A study of a decentralized school system. A report from the SLAV project. January 1993.

32. Gustafsson, Christina (Ed.): Department of Education, Uppsala University. Researchers, research teams, and research projects. August 1993.

33. Bracken, Rickard: Educational reform implementation, and actor preparedness. A case study of the Lok Jumbish Project and its effects in two villages in Rajasthan, India. February 1996.

34. Lindblad, Sverker & Popkewitz, Thomas S. (Eds.): Education governance and social integration and exclusion: National cases of educational systems and recent reforms. January 1999.

35. Popkewitz, Thomas S., Lindblad, Sverker & Strandberg, Johanna: Review of research on education governance and social integration and exclusion. May 1999.

36. Lindblad, Sverker & Popkewitz, Thomas S.: Public discourses on education governance and social integration and exclusion. A report on analyses of policy texts in national contexts from the EGSIE project. January 2000.

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